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Report

REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY,

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

IN

IRELAND,

AS REPORTED BY THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH,

AUGUST 21, 1798.

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1798.

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REPORT.

Mr. SPEAKER,

THE Committee of Secrecy, appointed to take into conſideration the papers preſented to the Houſe on the 17th day of July laſt by the Right Honorable Lord Viſcount Caſtlereagh, have directed me to report as follows:

YOUR Committee, in reporting upon the papers referred to them, (Ap. No. I.) find it neceſſary to recall the attention of the houſe to a report of a ſecret committee of the Lords in the year 1793, (Ap. No. II. and III.) as alſo to the reports of ſecret committees of both houſes of the late parliament, preſented in the courſe of the year 1797.

Your committee find that the allegations ſtated in thoſe reports are fully confirmed by farther evidence and by ſubſequent events; and the facts they contain, connected with the information ariſing out of the preſent enquiry, will enable the houſe to trace in all its parts the conſpiracy carried on by the party ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen, from its firſt appearance under the pretext of reform till it connected itſelf with the foreign enemy, and broke out into a wide and extended rebellion.

Before your committee proceed to trace the extenſion and progreſs of the ſyſtem of treaſon ſince the period of the laſt report, (the organization of which at that time appeared to have been in a great degree confined to the northern counties, but ſhortly after extended itſelf throughout other parts of the kingdom,) they are deſirous of adverting to the prominent facts eſtabliſhed by former enquiries, and to the meaſures adopted by the government to meet the dangers which then, and at the period immediately ſubſequent to the laſt report, exiſted in the province of Ulſter.

The ſociety under the name of United Iriſhmen, it appears, was eſtabliſhed in the year 1791; its founders held forth what they termed Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, as the oſtenſible objects of their union, (Ap. No. II.): but it clearly appeared from the letter of Theobald Wolfe Tone, accompanying their original conſtitution, as tranſmitted to Belfaſt for adoption, that from its commencement the real purpoſe of thoſe who were at the head of the inſtitution, was to ſeparate Ireland from Great Britain, and to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of this kingdom: in corroboration of which your committee have annexed to this report ſeveral of their early publications, particularly a proſpectus of the ſociety which appeared in the beginning of the year 1791, (Ap. No. IV. and V.); as alſo the plan of reform which they recommended to the people.

For the firſt three years their attention was entirely directed to the engaging in their ſociety perſons of activity and talents in every quarter of the kingdom; and in preparing the public mind for their future purpoſes by the circulation of the moſt ſeditious publications, particularly the works of Thomas Paine. At this time, however, the leaders were rather cautious of alarming minds not ſufficiently ripe for the adoption of their principles by the too open diſcloſure of the real objects they had in view. In 1795 the teſt of the ſociety underwent a ſtriking reviſion, (Ap. No. XXIV.); the words in the amended teſt ſtand, "a full repreſentation of all the people," omitting the words "in the Commons Houſe of Parliament;" the reaſon for which has been admitted by three members of the executive examined before your committee, (Ap. No XXXI.) to be the better to reconcile reformers and republicans in a common exertion to overthrow the ſtate.

In the ſummer of 1796 great numbers of perſons, principally in the province of Ulſter, had enrolled themſelves in this ſociety. About the ſame period, (Ap. No. VI.) as will be more fully explained hereafter, a direct communication had been opened by the heads of the party with the enemy, and French aſſiſtance was ſolicited and promiſed to be ſpeedily ſent to aid the diſaffected in this kingdom.

With a view of being prepared as much as poſſible to co-operate with the enemy then expected, (Ap. No. VI.) and in order to counteract the effect of the armed aſſociations of yeomanry eſtabliſhed in October 1796, directions were iſſued by the leaders to the ſocieties to form themſelves into military bodies, and to be provided with arms and ammunition.

Theſe directions were ſpeedily obeyed; the ſocieties aſſumed a military form; and it appears by the original papers ſeized at Belfaſt in the month of April 1797, (Ap. No. II.) that their numbers at that period in the province of Ulſter alone were ſtated to amount to nearly 100,000 men. That they were very largely ſupplied with fire arms and pikes; that they had ſome cannon and ammunition, and were diligently employed in the ſtudy of military tactics; in ſhort, that nothing was neglected by the party which could enable them to take the field on the arrival of the enemy, or whenever they might receive orders to that effect from their ſuperior officers, whom they were bound by oath to obey.

To deter the well-affected from joining the yeomanry corps, and to render the adminiſtration of juſtice altogether ineffectual, the moſt active ſyſtem of terror was put in operation; perſons enrolled in the yeomanry, magiſtrates, witneſſes, jurors—in a word, every claſs and deſcription of people who ventured to ſupport the laws, became objects of the moſt cruel perſecution in their perſons, property, and even in the line of their buſineſs; and multitudes were compelled to take their illegal oaths, and profeſs an adherence to the party, as a means of ſecurity.

In the latter end of 1796, and beginning of 1797, the loyal inhabitants of Ulſter ſuffered moſt ſeverely from the depredations of the United Iriſhmen; throughout the province they were ſtript of their arms; the moſt horrid murders were perpetrated by large bodies of men in open day, and it became nearly impoſſible to bring the offenders to juſtice from the inevitable deſtruction that awaited the witneſſes or jurors who dared to perform their duty.

Your committee will now ſhortly trace the meaſures reſorted to for ſuppreſſing theſe diſturbances, and for extending protection to the well affected.

In the ſummer of 1796, the outrages committed by a banditti, calling themſelves Defenders, in the counties of Roſcommon, Leitrim, Longford, Meath, Weſtmeath and Kildare, together with a religious feud prevailing in the county of Armagh, induced the legiſlature to paſs a temporary act of parliament, (36 Geo. 3. c.) generally called the Inſurrection Act, by which the Lord Lieutenant and Council were enabled, upon the requiſition of ſeven magiſtrates of any county aſſembled at a ſeſſions of the peace, to proclaim the whole or any part thereof to be in a ſtate of diſturbance; within

which limits this law, giving increaſed power to the magiſtracy, was to have operation.

Many diſtricts in Ulſter, in which outrages prevailed, occaſioned by the active and perſecuting ſpirit of the United Iriſhmen, were in the courſe of the winter of 1796, and ſpring of 1797, put under the proviſions of the act above mentioned: and your committee have to obſerve, that, although where the law was put in force with activity by the magiſtrates, very beneficial conſequences were found to reſult from it, yet the treaſon was then too deeply rooted to yield to this remedy.

The parliament being aſſembled in October 1796, the dangerous progreſs of the treaſon, and the active preparations of the enemy for the invaſion of this kingdom, were announced in the ſpeech from the throne. Bills (37 Geo. 3. c.) were immediately brought in, and paſſed without delay, for ſuſpending the habeas corpus act, as alſo for the eſtabliſhment of the yeomanry:—meaſures to which your committee feel themſelves juſtified in attributing the ſalvation of the country; and which being taken immediately ſubſequent to the formal alliance concluded between the Executive of the Union and the French Directory, at once prove the vigilance of government, as alſo their well-founded confidence in thus entruſting the defence of the kingdom and its conſtitution to the loyalty of its inhabitants.

Your Committee have to obſerve with great ſatisfaction, that the eſtimate for the yeomanry, as firſt laid before Parliament, was for a number not exceeding 20,000—that in the courſe of ſix months above 37,000 were arrayed; and that the zeal of the country had ſo riſen with its difficulties, that during the late rebellion, the yeomanry force exceeded 50,000 men, and might have been increaſed to a much greater extent. It is unneceſſary to recall to the recollection and gratitude of parliament and of the country, the ſervices they have performed during the unhappy ſtruggle in which we have been engaged; ſharing all the hardſhips and dangers, and performing all the duties, in common with the King's regular and militia forces.

The next meaſure to which your Committee beg leave to point the attention of the Houſe is, (Ap. No. VII.) the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant and Council, bearing date the 6th of November, 1796, iſſued in conſequence of the diſaffected having adopted a practice of marching in military array, and aſſembling in large bodies, in ſome inſtances to the number of ſeveral thouſands, under

pretence of saving corn, and digging potatoes: but in fact to terrify the peaceable and well-disposed, and to compel them to enter into their treasonable associations.

The same system has since frequently been had recourse to by the United Irishmen in other parts of the kingdom under various pretences, such as funerals, foot-ball meetings, &c. with a view of displaying their strength, giving the people the habit of assembling from great distances upon an order being issued, and making them more accustomed to shew themselves openly in support of the cause.

The next measure to which the government was driven by the traitorous excesses of the United Irishmen, and to which your committee beg leave to advert, is the proclamation of Lieut. Gen. Lake, (App. No. VIII. and IX.) then commanding in Ulster, issued on the 13th of March, in consequence of a letter addressed to him by the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, Mr. Pelham.

The disorders which called for this interposition of military authority are sufficiently set forth in the body of the letter; and your committee have only to observe, that in carrying Lieut. General Lake's proclamation into effect, no acts of severity whatever were used by the military towards persons concealing or refusing to give up their arms; but that on the contrary, the search for the arms of the disaffected was conducted with all possible mildness; and that where persons voluntarily brought in their arms, certificates were granted by the magistrates and assurances given to the people that their arms would be returned as soon as the country was restored to tranquillity.—It must, however, be observed, that in June following, when a general insurrection was decided on by the party, and upon the point of breaking out in the province of Ulster, more vigorous means of compelling the surrender of arms were had recourse to, under the authority of the proclamation of the 17th of May;—(App. No. X.) a measure absolutely indispensable to the public security, and under the circumstances of the case, strictly defensive.

Of the quantity of arms which appeared by their own reports to be in the hands of the disaffected, comparatively few were obtained by the search then made in Ulster by General Lake's orders; and it is also to be observed, that previously to, and during the circuit which took place in the month of April 1797, acts of violence of every description became more frequent, and were at

the ſame time ſo ſyſtematically directed, with a view to ſtop the courſe of criminal juſtice againſt the United Iriſhmen, that the crown proſecutions in the diſturbed counties proved from their failure an encouragement rather than a reſtraint upon the treaſonable projects of the party.

The report of the Secret Committee (App. No. X. XI. XII.) was followed by the proclamation of the 17th of May 1797, which after reciting many acts of outrage and rebellion that had been committed, and offering pardon, with certain exceptions to all perſons guilty of the ſaid offences who ſhould ſurrender within the period of a month, and give ſecurity for their future good behaviour, declared that the civil power had proved ineffectual, and that it became neceſſary to employ the military force for the immediate ſuppreſſion of ſuch rebellious attempts.

It appears to your committee, (No. XIV.) that notwithſtanding this meaſure of mercy and warning to the diſaffected, in the latter end of the ſame month, as will be more fully explained hereafter, a general inſurrection in Ulſter was decided on, and the plan of attack for each county arranged.

The intention tranſpired, and was defeated by the active exertions of the army; notwithſtanding which, a partial riſing did take place near the mountains in the county of Down, where the inſurgents, finding themſelves unſupported, ſoon diſperſed. The effect of the meaſures then adopted was immediately felt; the arms of the diſaffected, by neceſſary acts of coercion, were collected throughout the province in great numbers:—the loyal were encouraged to declare themſelves—ſuch as had been miſled, came in in crowds to take the benefit of the proclamation of pardon, (App. No. XIII.) which was extended for another month; outrage ceaſed, and public confidence was ſo far reſtored throughout Ulſter in the courſe of the months of July and Auguſt, that the laws were adminiſtered with effect in the different counties during the autumn circuit, and the manufacturing induſtry of the country was reſtored to its uſual vigour during the remainder of that year. Your committee think it peculiarly incumbent on them to ſtate, that during, and ſubſequent to, the aſſizes of the ſaid circuit, the civil authority was found throughout Ulſter fully adequate to the preſervation of the public peace, and that all military interference was generally diſcontinued from that period.

It appears to your committee, that the inferior ſocieties of United Iriſhmen, in general, diſcontinued their meetings; that the people applied themſelves to their ordinary occupations; and though ſome of the higher committees were kept alive by the active leaders in the treaſon, yet it will appear from an inſpection (Ap. No. XIV.) of the authentic reports of their proceedings, that for ſeveral months only a proportion of the counties of Ulſter were repreſented in the provincial committee; that the others refuſed to ſend Delegates; that little money was collected; that they could not ſucceed in reviving the inferior ſocieties; and that although they encouraged each other in the hopes of bringing the lower orders of the people again into action in caſe the enemy ſhould land, they were not able to make any impreſſion of conſequence, till the inſurrection in Leinſter was on the point of breaking forth; and your committee feel themſelves warranted in ſtating, that the beneficial conſequences ariſing from the meaſures adopted in the year 1797, in the north, were ſtrongly exemplified in the feebleneſs of the late inſurrection in that quarter, and in the ſpirit diſplayed on that occaſion by the yeomanry and loyal inhabitants of the province of Ulſter.

It appears to your committee, that the leaders of the treaſon, apprehenſive leſt the enemy might be diſcouraged from any farther plan of invaſion, by the loyal diſpoſition manifeſted throughout Munſter and Connaught on their former attempt, determined to direct all their exertions to the propagation of the ſyſtem in thoſe provinces, which had hitherto been but partially infected. With this view emiſſaries were ſent into the ſouth and weſt in great numbers, of whoſe ſucceſs, in forming new ſocieties, and adminiſtering the oaths of the Union, there were, in the courſe of a few months, but too evident proofs in the introduction of the ſame diſturbances and enormities into Munſter, with which the northern province had been ſo ſeverely viſited.

In May 1797, although numbers had been ſworn both in Munſter and Leinſter, the ſtrength of the organization, excluſively of Ulſter, lay chiefly in the metropolis and in a few neighbouring counties, namely, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Weſtmeath, and the King's County.

It is obſerveable, that the counties in which Defenderiſm had prevailed, eaſily became converts to the new doctrines; and in the ſummer of 1797 the uſual concomitants of the treaſon, namely,

the plundering houſes of arms, the fabrication of pikes, and the murder of thoſe who did not join their party, began to appear in the midland counties.

In order to engage the peaſantry in the ſouthern counties, particularly in the counties of Waterford and Cork, the more eagerly in their cauſe, the United Iriſhmen found it expedient in urging their general principles, to dwell with peculiar energy on the ſuppoſed oppreſſiveneſs of tythes, (which had been the pretext for the old White-boy inſurrections.) And it is obſervable, that in addition to the acts of violence uſually reſorted to by the party, for the furtherance of their purpoſes, the ancient practice of burning the corn, and houghing the cattle of thoſe againſt whom their reſentment was directed was revived, and very generally practiſed in thoſe counties.

With a view to excite the reſentment of the catholics, and to turn that reſentment to the purpoſes of the party, fabricated and falſe teſts were repreſented as having been taken to exterminate catholics, (App. No. XXVI.) and were induſtriouſly diſſeminated by the emiſſaries of the treaſon throughout the provinces of Leinſter, Munſter, and Connaught. Reports were frequently circulated amongſt the ignorant of the catholic perſuaſion, that large bodies of men were coming to put them to death. This fabrication, however extravagant and abſurd, was one among the many wicked means, by which the deluded peaſantry were engaged the more rapidly in the treaſon.

In addition to the above arts practiſed to excite the people, and to turn local prejudices to the furtherance of their purpoſe, the party did not fail to avail themſelves, to the fulleſt extent, of the moſt wicked and licentious abuſe of the Preſs. (App. No. XXVII.) In the ſummer of 1797, an infamous paper, called the Union Star, was privately printed and circulated, inculcating the principles of inſurrection and aſſaſſination in direct terms, and containing a deſcription of thoſe perſons by name, (particularly magiſtrates and ſuch as had ſerved on juries) who were to be held out to the party as objects of aſſaſſination, on account of their active loyalty, or a conſcientious diſcharge of their duty.

Towards the end of the ſame year, a newſpaper, called the Preſs, was eſtabliſhed, latterly publiſhed in the name of Mr. A. O'Connor as proprietor thereof, who has admitted before your committee,

that he was for more than a year a member of the Executive Directory of the Iriſh Union, and who, as it appears to your committee from various channels of information, was a moſt active and confidential leader of their treaſon in its principal departments, both at home and abroad, which conveyed periodical exhortations to all manner of outrage and inſubordination. Every ſpecies of miſrepreſentation and ſophiſtry was made uſe of to vilify the government, to extend the union, to ſhake the connexion with Great Britain, to induce the people to look to French aſſiſtance, to exaggerate the force and numbers of the diſaffected, and ſyſtematically to degrade the adminiſtration of juſtice in all its departments. This paper, conducted on principles ſtill more licentious than the Northern Star (which had contributed ſo largely to the extenſion of treaſon in the North) was diſtributed throughout all parts of the kingdom, and from the activity of its partizans, had immediately a more extenſive circulation than any paper long eſtabliſhed.

The meaſures thus adopted by the party, completely ſucceeded in detaching the minds of the lower claſſes from their uſual habits and purſuits, inſomuch, that in the courſe of the autumn and winter of 1797, the peaſantry in the midland and ſouthern counties were ſworn, and ripe for inſurrection. Pikes were fabricated in ſuch numbers, (App. No. XXXIX.) that in the ſingle county of Kildare, in conſequence of the meaſures adopted by government, twelve thouſand have been ſurrendered; and your committee have every reaſon to believe that a ſtill greater proportion was retained, and that the preparation of arms in other counties by the diſaffected, was nearly as extenſive as the organization itſelf, will appear as well from the numbers ſeized in different parts of the kingdom, amounting in the whole to above 129,000 of different deſcriptions, (App. No. XXXIX.) as from the fact, that wherever the inſurrection broke out, the maſs of the people were univerſally armed either with muſkets or pikes.

While they were thus maturing their deſign, and ſecretly acquiring the ſtrength and conſiſtency of a revolutionary army, they omitted no artifice by which they could hope either to weaken or embarraſs the government of the country. So early as the year 1792 the ſeduction of the ſoldiery made a part of their ſyſtem. They imagined that the ſeaſon was now arrived for its accompliſhment, and no means which wicked ſubtilty could ſuggeſt, were left

unemployed. (Ap. No. XXX.) Printed papers were induſtriouſly circulated amongſt the privates and non-commiſſioned officers, urging them to inſubordination and revolt, and holding out the moſt tempting offers of preferment to ſuch as ſhould deſert their colours. The atrocious crimes to which they were incited, will beſt appear by reference to the proceedings of the general courts martial hereunto annexed, (Ap. No. XXIX. and XXX.) before whom the culprits were tried, prior to the breaking out of the rebellion, and to the trial of Henry and John Sheares (Ap. No. XX.) before a ſpecial commiſſion lately held.

Their attempts to fruſtrate the adminiſtration of juſtice have already been mentioned. It will be proper to ſtate ſome farther particulars. (Ap. No. XIV.) From ſeveral authentic reports of their own proceedings, it appears that conſiderable ſums of money were ſubſcribed for the purpoſe of defending ſuch of their aſſociates as ſhould be brought to trial. That they had itinerant committees, who went circuit as regularly as the judges. That a bar of lawyers were retained to undertake the cauſe of all perſons in the groſs committed for ſtate offences. Entries of money appear in their proceedings as paid to procure, as well as to buy off, witneſſes. In many caſes to gaolers for being guilty of breaches of truſt, and even to under ſheriffs for returning partial pannels; hand-bills to intimidate jurors were circulated, and every ſpecies of indecent management practiſed in the courts, to exclude from the jury-box perſons unconnected with their party.

In the hope of diminiſhing the reſources of the State, (Ap. No. XXV.) inſtructions were given to the people to abſtain from the conſumption of exciſeable articles, which are productive to the Revenue, and every endeavour made to depreciate the value of Government Securities (Ap. No. XXVIII.) in the eſtimation of the public, to ſtop the raiſing of the ſupplies of the year by the ſale of the quit rents, and to prevent the circulation of Bank paper.

Before your Committee proceed to ſtate the traitorous correſpondence carried on by the leading members of the conſpiracy with the enemy, (Ap. No. XXIV.) they think it neceſſary to advert to a new organization of the Society which took place in Auguſt 1797, the reaſons for which change will beſt appear by an inſpection of the printed paper at that time circulated, as an inſtruction

to the body, and your committee beg leave to refer to the examination *upon oath* before the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Lords of Dr. M'Nevin, (Ap. No. XXXI.) who ſtates himſelf to have been a member of their Executive Directory for the detailed application of this new ſyſtem to military purpoſes.

The evidence of the ſame perſon together with that of two other members of the executive, (App. No. XXXI.) namely Mr. Emmet and Mr. Arthur O'Conner, delivered upon oath before the ſaid Secret Committee of the Lords, and who as well as the ſaid Dr. M'Nevin have been examined ſince before your Committee, has completely developed the connexion of the party with the French Directory. From their teſtimony it appears that ſo early as the year 1796, the party deſpairing of carrying their plans into execution through the medium of a democratic reform, avowedly directed their efforts to revolution, and having received an intimation from one of their ſociety, and whom your Committee have very good reaſon to know to be Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone already mentioned, (a fugitive from this country on account of his treaſonable conduct) then at Paris, that the ſtate of the country had been repreſented to the government of France in ſuch a light as to induce them to reſolve on ſending a force to Ireland for the purpoſe of enabling it to ſeparate itſelf from Great Britain, an extraordinary meeting of the Executive of the Union was convened to take the propoſal into conſideration.

This meeting was held in the Summer of 1796, (Ibid.) and the reſult of their deliberations was to accept of the aſſiſtance thus held out to them by the French Directory.

In conſequence of this determination an agent was diſpatched to the Directory to acquaint them with it. (Ibid.) He was inſtructed to ſtate the diſpoſitions of the people, and the arrangements of the union for their reception, and received freſh aſſurances from the French Government that the armament ſhould be ſent as ſpeedily as it could be prepared. The agent above alluded to appears to your Committee from various channels of information to have been the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who accompanied by the ſaid Mr. Arthur O'Connor, proceeded by Hamburgh to Switzerland, and had an interview near the French frontier with General Hoche, who afterwards had the command of the expedition againſt Ireland, on which occaſion every thing was ſettled between the parties with a

view to the deſcent. The reaſon the perſons employed on this miſſion did not paſs into France was, leſt the Iriſh government ſhould gain intelligence of the fact, and cauſe them to be apprehended on their return.

About October, 1796, (Ap. No. XXXI.) an accredited meſſenger from the French Republic arrived, who ſaid he came to be informed of the ſtate of the country, and to communicate to the leaders of the United Iriſhmen the intention of the French to invade Ireland ſpeedily with fifteen thouſand men and a great quantity of arms and ammunition, which attempt ſo announced was accordingly made in the month of December following, when the French fleet with a large body of troops on board arrived in Bantry-bay.

Your Committee do not think it neceſſary to advert to the early and frequent communications of a treaſonable nature that took place between the diſaffected who had fled from this country to France, and the leaders of the party here, it is ſufficient to ſet forth the leading attempts of the union to prevail upon the French Directory to ſend a force to their aſſiſtance. It is neceſſary however to obſerve that although previous to the ſummer of 1796 no formal and authoriſed communication appears to have taken place between the Iriſh Executive, and the French government, yet the trial of Dr. Jackſon, convicted of High Treaſon in the year 1795, (No. XXXI.) proves that even then the enemy had agents in this kingdom who were addreſſed to the moſt active members of the Iriſh Union for information and aſſiſtance, and the treaſonable ſtatement reſpecting the interior ſituation of Ireland then drawn up, to be tranſmitted to France, appeared on the trial to have been the joint production of Theobald Wolfe Tone heretofore mentioned as the framer of the original conſtitution of United Iriſhmen, aſſiſted by Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Eſq. who frequently appeared in their publications as the chairman of the Society, to which treaſon, Lewins whom your committee from various channels of information are enabled to ſtate to be now their reſident agent at Paris, appears to have been privy.

From the period of the failure of this expedition, the diſaffected either actually did expect, or with a view of keeping up the ſpirits of their party, pretended to expect the immediate return of the enemy, and aſſurances to this effect were induſtriouſly circulated in all their Societies. However in the Spring of 1797, the Executive of the

Union thinking the French dilatory in their preparations, did then diſpatch Mr. Lewins above mentioned as a confidential perſon to preſs for aſſiſtance. This agent left London in March, and proceeded to Hamburgh, but did not reach Paris until the end of May or beginning of June, from which time he has continued to be the accredited Miniſter of the Iriſh Union to the French Directory.

It appears to your Committee, that in the Summer of 1797, (Ibid.) the Executive of the Union apprehenſive leſt a premature inſurrection in the North before the promiſed ſuccours from France could arrive might diſappoint their proſpects, thought it neceſſary to ſend a ſecond agent to Paris, to urge with increaſed earneſtneſs that the promiſed aſſiſtance ſhould be immediately ſent; accordingly a moſt confidential member of their body, whom your Committee have grounds to ſtate to have been Doctor M'Nevin, who had hitherto acted as Secretary to the Executive, was diſpatched on this miſſion—He left Dublin in the end of June, and preſented himſelf with the neceſſary letters of credence to the French Miniſter at Hamburgh—Meeting with ſome difficulty in obtaining a paſſport to proceed to Paris, he delivered to the Miniſter of the Republic a memoir to be forwarded to the Directory, the ſubſtance of which appears in Dr. M'Nevin's examination as taken on oath before the Secret Committee of the Lords. It is unneceſſary to make any obſervation upon this moſt curious ſtatement—it is in itſelf a complete picture of the deſperate purpoſes of the party, and the Houſe will obſerve that the ſtatement of their own reſources is ſtudiouſly exaggerated in proportion to the anxiety felt by them that the ſuccours might be ſent before the vigorous meaſures adopted by government in the North ſhould diſconcert their projects.

This agent (App. No. XXXI.) was authoriſed to give France aſſurances of being repaid the full expenſes of any future armament ſhe might ſend to Ireland, as well as of the laſt which had miſcarried, the ſame to be raiſed by the confiſcation of the lands of the church, of the property of all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe the meaſures of the party. He was alſo particularly charged to negociate if poſſible a loan on the above ſecurity to the amount of half a million, or at leaſt three hundred thouſand pounds, for the immediate purpoſes of the Union; and directions were given to him that in caſe

France could not be prevailed on to advance ſo large a ſum, he ſhould addreſs himſelf to the court of Spain for that purpoſe.

It appears to your Committee (Ap. No. XXXI.) that the Executive of the Union, though deſirous of obtaining aſſiſtance in men, arms, and money, yet were averſe to a greater force being ſent than might enable them to ſubvert the government, and retain the power of the country in their own hands; but that the French ſhewed a decided diſinclination at all times to ſend any force to Ireland except ſuch as, from its magnitude, might not only give them the hopes of conquering the kingdom, but of retaining it afterwards as a French conqueſt, and of ſubjecting it to all the plunder and oppreſſions which other countries, ſubdued or deceived by that nation, have experienced. A remarkable illuſtration of which ſentiment in the Directory of France occurs in the ſubſtance of a letter ſaid to be received from Lewins, the Iriſh agent at Paris, and ſhewn by Lord Edward Fitzgerald to John Cormick, a colonel in the rebel army, who fled from juſtice on the breaking out of the rebellion, and whoſe voluntary confeſſion, upon his apprehenſion in Guernſey, before Sir Hugh Dalrymple, is given in the appendix. This letter, although written apparently on money buſineſs, which is the cloak generally made uſe of by the party to conceal their real views, is perfectly intelligible when connected with, and explained by, the memoir preſented by Doctor M'Nevin, the Iriſh agent to the French Directory. The letter ſtates, that the truſtees, that is, the Directory, would not advance the five thouſand pounds, that is, the ſmaller number of troops aſked for in M'Nevin's memoir; ſaying they would make no payment ſhort of the entire ſum, that is, the larger force, which they always declared their intention of ſending, and that this payment could not be made in leſs than four months from that time.

The demands of the party by their firſt agent, (Ap. No. XXXI,) went to a force not exceeding ten thouſand, nor leſs than five thouſand men, with forty thouſand ſtand of arms, and a proportionate ſupply of artillery, ammunition, engineers, experienced officers, &c.

A ſtill larger ſupply of arms was ſolicited by the ſecond meſſenger, (Ap. No. XXXI.) on account, as he ſtated it, of the growing number of their adherents, and of the diſarming of the north, in

which province above ten thouſand ſtand of arms and as many pikes had been ſurrendered to the King's troops.

It appears that an attempt was made about the ſame time, (Ap. No. XXXI.) to procure the aſſiſtance of ſuch Iriſh officers then in foreign ſervice, as might be prevailed upon, by receiving high rank, to engage in the ſervice of the Union, and that a negotiation was actually ſet on foot for this purpoſe; but it has been ſtated, that from the over-caution of the agent who was employed in conducting this tranſaction, nothing in conſequence of it was effected.

A ſecond memoir was preſented by this confidential agent upon his arrival at Paris, (Ibid.) in which he urged ſuch arguments, as he conceived moſt likely to induce the Directory not to poſtpone the invaſion. He endeavoured to demonſtrate, that ſo favourable a diſpoſition as then exiſted in the Iriſh mind, was in no future contingency to be expected; and he artfully repreſented, that the deluſions held out by reform might ceaſe from delay, and thus render more difficult to France, and the true republicans of this country, their endeavours to ſeparate the two kingdoms, and to eſtabliſh a republic in Ireland.

Previous to this miſſion from Ireland, a confidential perſon (Ib.) was ſent over by the French Directory to collect information reſpecting the ſtate of Ireland. Failing to obtain the neceſſary paſſports in London to paſs into Ireland, he wrote over to requeſt that one of the party might meet him in London. A perſon was accordingly ſent over, whom your Committee know, from various channels of information, to have been the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and who, it is to be preſumed, did not fail to furniſh the French agent with every neceſſary intelligence.

The Directory gave the Iriſh agents ſent to Paris, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſupport, and did accordingly, during the ſummer, make preparations of a very extenſive nature, both at the Texel and at Breſt, for the invaſion of Ireland; and in the autumn, intelligence was received by the Executive of the Union, that the troops were actually embarked in the Texel, and only waited for a wind.

In conſequence of this communication, great exertions were made by the party; and in the beginning of October, when the Dutch fleet was on the point of ſailing, the approach of the enemy (as will appear by reference to the provincial reports (Ap. No. XIV.) from Ulſter of that date) was announced to the ſocieties as at hand.

The troops had been actually on board, commanded by General Daendalls, but were ſuddenly diſembarked. The Dutch fleet, contrary to the opinion of their own Admiral, as is believed generally, was, at the inſtance of the French government, obliged to put to ſea, which led to the ever memorable victory of the 11th October, 1797.

It appears to your committee, (No. XVI. and XXXI.) that early in the preſent year farther advices were received by the Iriſh Executive from France; ſtating, that ſuccours might be expected to be ſent to Ireland in April, but notwithſtanding the temptation held out by the rebellion, which commenced on the 23d of May following, the French government have not yet thought it prudent to fulfill their promiſe.

The committee truſt they have laid ſufficient grounds before the houſe, to ſatisfy them of the long-entertained and fixed purpoſe of the United Iriſhmen to introduce the enemy into this kingdom, and through their aſſiſtance to ſeize upon the government and property of the country; and that in their negotiation with the French Directory, they have had no other reſerve but what their own treaſonable ambition pointed out. The particulars of the ſtatement reſting for the moſt part upon the admiſſion of the parties themſelves, there can be no poſſible room to doubt the truth of what has been ſubmitted.

Your committee think it material to obſerve, that notwithſtanding the wildneſs of the hope that they could ever ſucceed in overturning the government without powerful aid from abroad, yet on more than one occaſion, the eagerneſs of the more violent partizans ſo far prevailed over their reaſon, as to induce them to meditate an inſurrection. To this they were excited by the apprehenſion that the zeal of their followers would ſubſide if they were not called into action, as well as by a dread that a reſort to ſtronger meaſures on the part of government might at length deprive them of the means of exertion. It had been their invariable policy to announce an effort as at hand, merely to keep up the ſpirits of the people, when no attempt of the kind was really in contemplation; however, in the ſpring of 1797, a plan was ſeriouſly diſcuſſed amongſt the leaders then aſſembled in Dublin, (Ap. No. XXXI. & XV.) for commencing a general riſing, without waiting for foreign aſſiſtance; but as this ſcheme did not meet with the approbation of the Dublin

part of the committee, it was laid aſide; and it appears that at this period a coolneſs took place between the Ulſter and the Leinſter Delegates, in conſequence of which the progreſs of the conſpiracy ſeems to have been for a time much impeded.

The northerns then in Dublin, diſguſted with the cowardice (as they termed it) of the Leinſter Delegates, propoſed to act without their approbation, to ſeize upon the caſtle, ordnance ſtores, magazine, &c. and to truſt to the mob of Dublin for aſſiſtance; (No. XIV.) but from ſome additional military precautions at that time adopted in the garriſon, this plan was abandoned.

Shortly after the proclamation of the 17th of May 1797, above ſtated, notwithſtanding the ſtrong opinion entertained by the Leinſter Executive, of the impolicy of ſuch an attempt, the more ſo, as aſſurances had been recently received of the preparations going forward both at Breſt and in the Texel for the invaſion of Ireland; yet an active effort was made to produce a general inſurrection throughout Ulſter, the orders for which were given out the latter end of May, in conformity to a plan previouſly prepared. A ſlight movement did take place as before ſtated; however the main deſign of the party was fruſtrated by the active military meaſures then taken by Lieutenant General Lake, and many of their principal leaders were obliged to fly, ſeveral of whom paſſed into France, having received letters to Reinhart, French miniſter at Hamburgh, from perſons then reſident in this country, in conſequence of which introduction, the neceſſary paſſports were granted, to enable them to proceed to Paris, where they arrived early in Auguſt, and had frequent communications with the French Directory on Iriſh affairs.

Your committee do not find that the diſaffected entertained at any other periods than thoſe alluded to, until the middle of March 1798, any ſerious intention of hazarding an effort independent of foreign aſſiſtance. Indeed the opinion of the moſt cautious of their body was always adverſe to a premature exertion. Their policy was to riſque nothing ſo long as the party was gaining ſtrength. Their principle to extend their organization, to add to their ſtock of arms, and to wait for events: and it appears from a variety of evidence laid before your committee, that the rebellion would not have broken out ſo ſoon as it did, had it not been for the well-timed meaſures adopted by government, ſubſequent to the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant and council, bearing date the 30th of March, 1798, (Ap-

No. XXXVII.) as it is notorious that in many counties the effect of thoſe meaſures was ſuch in diſſolving the union, and in obliging the people to ſurrender their arms, that it became evident to the generality of their leaders, they had no other alternative but to riſe at once, or to abandon their purpoſe.

It appears to your Committee, that with the double view of being prepared either to co-operate with the enemy in caſe of a deſcent, or of directing an inſurrection upon ſyſtem ſhould they find it neceſſary to have recourſe to ſuch a meaſure (Ap. No. XXXI.) before aſſiſtance might arrive from France, a military committee was appointed by the Executive in the month of February laſt. About this time detailed military inſtructions were iſſued to the Adjutant-generals of the Union, (Ap. No. XIV. and XVII.) by which they were required to inform themſelves and report on the ſtate of the rebel regiments within their diſtricts, of the number of mills, the roads, rivers, bridges and fords, the military poſitions, the capacity of the towns and villages to receive troops, to communicate to the Executive every movement of the enemy, (meaning the King's troops,) to announce the firſt appearance of their allies, (meaning the French,) and immediately to collect their force, with ſeveral other military regulations.

Inſtructions were alſo given to the ſeveral rebel regiments as to the arms and appointments with which they were to be furniſhed, ſo as to be enabled to take the field on the ſhorteſt notice.

At a meeting held the 26th of February, thanks are voted to the ſeveral Colonels (Ap. No. XXVII.) for their effectual exertions in embodying and arming their reſpective regiments—the people are requeſted to bear the ſhackles of tyranny a little longer till the whole kingdom ſhall be in ſuch a ſtate of organization as will, by their joint co-operation, effect without loſs that deſirable object which they ſtated as hourly drawing to a criſis.

Whilſt theſe extenſive military arrangements were making by the Executive to act againſt the ſtate as ſoon as a favourable opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf, the ſame ſyſtem of outrage which had been ſo ſucceſsfully made uſe of by the party the year before in Ulſter, to eſtabliſh their own authority in oppoſition to that of the laws, and to compel the people to look to the Union for protection rather than to the State, was very generally prevalent throughout the ſouthern

and midland counties. The enormities committed on the well affected, were marked with the moſt diſguſting cruelty.

It is unneceſſary for your Committee to detail individual inſtances of outrage which are freſh in the recollection of the Houſe: it will be ſufficient to ſtate, that in the months of February and March, many parts of the provinces of Leinſter and Munſter were actually in the poſſeſſion of a murderous banditti. If they did not appear in arms by day, it only rendered their rebellion more difficult to be met and cruſhed by the King's troops and yeomanry—not a night paſſed without numerous murders; ſeveral diſtricts in the provinces of Leinſter and Munſter had been proclaimed under the powers given to the Lord Lieutenant and Council by the act for preventing inſurrections; but theſe meaſures proved ineffectual—very many of the loyal inhabitants of the counties of Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Kilkenny, Carlow, King's County, Queen's County, Kildare, and Wicklow, were, in the courſe of one month, ſtript of their arms, and in many places obliged to fly for ſhelter into the garriſon towns; and as one inſtance among many of the daring lengths to which the conſpirators at this time had proceeded, your Committee think it neceſſary to ſtate, that, in open day, eight hundred inſurgents, principally mounted, inveſted the town of Cahir, in the county of Tipperary; held poſſeſſion of it until they had made a regular ſearch through every houſe, and carried off in triumph all the arms and ammunition they could find.

Under theſe circumſtances (Ap. No. XXXVII.) the Lord Lieutenant and Council iſſued the proclamation before ſpoken of, bearing date the 30th of March, ſtating that the traitorous conſpiracy long exiſting within this kingdom had broken out into acts of *open rebellion*; and giving notice that the moſt direct and poſitive orders were iſſued to the officers commanding His Majeſty's forces to employ them with the utmoſt vigour and deciſion for the immediate ſuppreſſion thereof; and alſo for the recovery of ſuch arms as had been traitorouſly taken from the King's peaceable and loyal ſubjects. It was alſo enjoined, that they ſhould diſarm the rebels and all perſons diſaffected to His Majeſty's government by the moſt ſummary and effectual meaſures.

This proclamation was tranſmitted by his Excellency's commands to Sir Ralph Abercrombie, then Commander in Chief, who

was directed to proceed into the disturbed countics, being invested by the Lord Lieutenant with full powers.

Your Committee annex to this report, a notice to the inhabitants of the disturbed counties, (Ap. No. XXXVIII.) as issued by the said Commander in Chief; and think it incumbent on them to observe, that on this, and, indeed, on every occasion in which the government, or the officers acting under its orders, have been driven to the necessity of adopting extraordinary measures for the safety of the State, full notice and time have uniformly been given before they were acted upon, and the people have been exhorted to prevent the necessity of rigorous measures by a cessation from outrage and a surrender of their arms.

It appears to your Committee, that the steps then taken, as mentioned in the proclamation, had an almost immediate effect in repressing the audacity of the rebels, and in restoring tranquillity. The loyal inhabitants were enabled in many places to return in safety to their houses—murders became less frequent; in many counties, particularly in Kildare and Tipperary, the people, sensible of the madness and wickedness of their conduct, began openly to acknowledge their crimes, surrender their arms, and point out their leaders and seducers; a submission which invariably obtained for them pardon and protection.

In April and the beginning of May, the delusion of the people was so fast and so widely yielding to the measures of Government, which while they treated with severity the obstinately guilty, (Ap. No. XXXIV.) in all cases held forth mercy to the repentant, that the leaders of the treason, both in Dublin and the provinces, began to perceive that their cause was losing ground, and that they had no alternative left but to hazard an insurrection, or to relinquish their hopes. The arrest of the Leinster provincial committee, on the 12th of March, (Ap. Nos. XVI. and XIX.) and of several other leading members of the Union on the same day, tended so much to disclose the guilt of the party and to weaken their organization, that the conspirators felt themselves still more compelled to a desperate effort. A plan was accordingly digested by the military committee for a general rising, (Ap. No. XIV.) the outline of which was to surprise Dublin, the camp at Loughlinstown, and the artillery stationed at Chapelizod on the same night, (Ap. No. XVIII.) in

which attack the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare, were to co-operate: the inſurrection being commenced in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, (Ap. No. XXXI.) (the ſignal for announcing which was to be the detention of the mail-coaches,) it was expected that the North and South would alſo riſe.

The Houſe will find the plan of inſurrection detailed and fully proved in the evidence adduced on the trial of Henry and John Sheares, lately convicted of high treaſon; (Ap. Nos. XX. XXXI. and XXXIII.) the bloody intentions of the party may beſt be collected from a manifeſto in the hand writing of the ſaid John Sheares, (one of the new executive elected after the arreſts made on the 12th of March laſt, as your Committee have reaſon to believe) which was to have been iſſued in the event of ſucceſs. Were any additional proofs neceſſary to eſtabliſh the authenticity of the plan as above ſtated, it may be found in the proceedings of the provincial committee of Ulſter, (Ap. No. XIV.) which met at Armagh on the 12th of May, where the ſame plan was announced as decided on, and the neceſſary orders given for ſecuring, as far as poſſible, the co-operation of the North.

The Government, perfectly informed of the intentions of the conſpirators, cauſed ſeveral of the leaders to be apprehended on the 19th and 21ſt of May, and the approaching inſurrection was announced to the Lord Mayor late in the evening of the 21ſt in a letter from the Lord Lieutenant's ſecretary; and on the following day a meſſage to the ſame effect was ſent by his Excellency to both Houſes of Parliament. Notwithſtanding the military precautions adopted to counteract the intended riſing, it took place in the neighbourhood of Dublin on the night appointed, namely, the 23d of May; and every poſſible effort was made by the diſaffected within the town to co-operate with thoſe without. In conformity to the plan laid down, the mail coaches were deſtroyed on the northern and ſouthern roads, and every exertion made by the party in the provinces to bring the people into action.

Your Committee do not think it neceſſary to record the events of the bloody and deſtructive rebellion that enſued, (Ap. No. XXXV.) which are ſtill but too freſh in the memory of the Houſe; they need only ſtate, that as ſoon as the rebels had actually taken the field in force, and commenced their operations by ſeveral daring at-

tacks upon the towns garriſoned by the King's troops; the Lord Lieutenant and Council publiſhed a proclamation, bearing date the 24th of May, (Ap. No. XXXIX.) announcing, that he had authorized the ſummary puniſhment by martial law of all rebels found in arms, or of perſons in anywiſe aiding or aſſiſting in the rebellion; to which ſeaſonable interpoſition of the powers of the ſtate, the preſervation of the conſtitution againſt this daring attempt to ſubvert it is not leſs to be attributed, than to the diſtinguiſhed fidelity and bravery of the Kings troops, both regulars, militia, and yeomanry.

On conſideration of the whole of the evidence, your Committee are of opinion,

That the rebellion originated in a ſyſtem, framed not with a view of obtaining either Catholic emancipation, or any reform compatible with the exiſtence of the conſtitution, but for the purpoſe of ſubverting the government, ſeparating Ireland from Great Britain, and forming a democratic republic, founded on the deſtruction of all church eſtabliſhment, the abolition of ranks, and the confiſcation of property.

That the means reſorted to for the attainment of theſe deſigns, was a ſecret ſyſtematized combination, fitted to attract the multitude, by being adapted to vulgar prejudices and vicious paſſions, and artfully linked and connected together with a view of forming the maſs of the lower ranks into a revolutionary force, acting in concert, and moving in one body, at the impulſe, and under the direction of their leaders.

That for the farther accompliſhment of their object, the leaders of the conſpiracy entered into a negotiation, and finally concluded an alliance with the French Directory, by which it was ſtipulated, that an adequate force ſhould be ſent for the invaſion of this country, as ſubſidiary to the preparations that were making for a general inſurrection.

That in purſuance of this deſign, meaſures were adopted by the chiefs of the conſpiracy, for giving to their ſocieties a military form; and that for arming their adherents, they had recourſe partly to the fabrication of pikes, and partly to the plundering of the loyal inhabitants of their arms.

That from the vigorous and ſummary expedients reſorted to by

government, and the conſequent exertions of the military, the leaders found themſelves reduced to the alternative of immediate inſurrection, or of being deprived of the means on which they relied for effecting their purpoſe; and that to this cauſe is excluſively to be attributed that premature and deſperate effort, the raſhneſs of which has ſo evidently facilitated its ſuppreſſion.

That the vigilance of the executive government, in detecting and arreſting many of the principal conſpirators in the very act of concerting their plans of inſurrection, the convictions which have enſued, and the ſtill more complete developement of the treaſon by the confeſſion of ſome of its moſt active and efficient conductors, have not only eſſentially contributed to the defeat of the rebellion, but by enabling the Committee to diſcloſe the views and machinations of the conſpirators, may ſuggeſt means for ſecuring the future tranquillity of the country.

Your Committee cannot conclude without obſerving, that on a review of the treaſon which has employed their attention, they trace a perfect coincidence, in its commencement and in its progreſs, its means and its objects, with that by which the government, the religion, and the happineſs of France, have been deſtroyed; which has extended its deſolating influence over ſome of the moſt proſperous and flouriſhing countries of Europe, and has ſhaken to its foundation the fabric of regular ſociety throughout the civilized world. That the leaders of the ſyſtem, in order to adapt the minds of the multitude to the purpoſes of their treaſon, have, after the example of their jacobine allies in France, left no means unemployed which the moſt malignant ſubtlety could ſuggeſt, for eradicating from amongſt the working claſſes, every ſentiment both of private and public duty—all quiet and peaceable habits, all ſocial as well as moral obligations, it has been their object to deſtroy; and the more ſacred the tie, the more induſtriouſly have they laboured to diſſolve it: they have incited the ſoldier to betray his King, they have armed the tenant againſt the landlord, and they have taught the ſervant to conſpire with the aſſaſſin of his maſter; blaſting the repoſe and confidence of private life even in its ſanctuary, and effacing every law of truth, of juſtice, of gratitude, and of religion, except where it has been poſſible to make even religion itſelf the perverted inſtrument of their execrable views. Such have been the

leading principles, and the long-laboured preparatives for that rebellion from which your committee truſt this country has been happily reſcued ; and they indulge a ſanguine hope, that their preſent ſtatement, authenticated as it is by ſuch a maſs of evidence, will contribute ſtill farther to the complete re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity, by throwing the fulleſt light on the dangers to which the community has been expoſed, and againſt which it is ſtill neceſſary to guard.

END OF THE REPORT.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Report from the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Lords in 1793.

MY LORDS,

THE Committee appointed to inquire into the Cauſes of the diſorders and diſturbances which prevail in ſeveral Parts of this kingdom, to endeavour to diſcover the promoters of them, to prevent their extenſion and to report the reſult of their enquiries to the Houſe, have examined into the matters to them referred as far as the time would permit, but apprehending that delay may be attended with danger in the preſent circumſtances of the times, they think it their duty to lay before the Houſe immediately ſuch information as they conceive to be material for the preſent, which is as follows:

The People at this time called Defenders are very different from thoſe who originally aſſumed that appellation, and are all, as far as the committee could diſcover, of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion; in general poor ignorant labouring men, ſworn to ſecrecy, and impreſſed with an opinion that they are aſſiſting the Catholic cauſe; in other reſpects they do not appear to have any diſtinct particular object in view, but they talk of being relieved from hearth-money, tithes, county ceſſes, and of lowering their rents. They firſt appeared in the county of Louth in conſiderable bodies in April laſt, ſeveral of them were armed; they aſſembled moſtly in the night, and forced into the Houſes of Proteſtants, and took from them their arms. The diſorders ſoon ſpread through the counties of Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, and other parts adjacent; at firſt they took nothing but arms, but afterwards they plundered the houſes of every thing they could find. Their meaſures appear to have been concerted and conducted with the utmoſt ſecrecy and a degree of regularity and ſyſtem not uſual in people in ſuch mean condition, and as if directed by men of a ſuperior rank. Sums of money to a conſiderable amount have been levied and ſtill continue to be levied upon the Roman Catholics in all parts of the kingdom by ſubſcription and collections at their chapels and elſe-

where, ſome of which levies have been made and ſtill continue to be made under the authority of a printed circular letter, which has been ſent into all parts of the kingdom, a copy of which letter we think it our duty to inſert herein.

" Sir,

" By an order of the ſub-committee, dated the 15th of January, " I had the honour to forward you a plan for a general ſubſcrip- " tion, which had for its object the raiſing a fund for defraying " the heavy and growing expences incurred by the General Com- " mittee in conducting the affairs of the Catholics of Ireland. " As ſeveral miſtakes have occurred in the tranſmiſſion of theſe " letters, owing to my ignorance of the addreſs of many of the " Delegates, I am directed to inform you that ſuch a plan is now " in forwardneſs throughout the kingdom. A meaſure ſo ſtrongly " enforced by neceſſity, and ſo conſonant to juſtice, cannot fail to " attract your very ſerious attention; the committee having the " moſt perfect reliance on your zeal, are therefore confident that " you will uſe your beſt exertions to carry this neceſſary buſineſs " into full effect.

Dublin, February 5th 1793.

Signed by the Secretary of the ſub-committee.

" P. S. It is hoped that you will acknowledge the receipt of " this letter, ſtating at the ſame time whatever progreſs has been " made in your diſtrict."

Several ſeditious and inflammatory papers publiſhed in Dublin and diſperſed through the country ſeem to have countenanced and encouraged the Defenders in their Proceedings, and it appears that letters were written by a member of the committee of the Roman Catholics at Dublin, previous to the laſt ſummer aſſizes, to a perſon reſident at Dundalk, in one of which the ſaid perſon in the name of the ſaid Roman Catholic Committee, directed enquiries to be made touching the offences of which the Defenders then in confinement were accuſed, which enquiries will be beſt explained by inſerting the ſaid letter in the words following:

" Dear Sir, Dublin, 9th Auguſt, 1792.

" I received this day your favour of the 8th inſtant, encloſing " the different papers reſpecting the Buſineſs I wrote you. It is " with much regret that I am obliged to reply, that from the " want of information on the ſubject matter of the indictments, " no preciſe opinion can be formed whether the alledged offence is " or is not bailable; the committee are conſequently in the dark " as to the meaſures that ſhould be adopted, nor can your exertions " accelerate (as it ſeems) that period until the aſſizes, when you

" will be able to obtain office copies of the examinations. Mr. " Nugent's brother left town this day truly diſconſolate, in not " being able to effect ſomething towards the liberation of his " Kinſman; he however did his beſt in the affair.

" I am, dear Sir,
" your obedient ſervant,
" John Sweetman."

" P. S. If any new occurrence ſhould happen, be good enou " to inform me of it."

And it does appear that the ſaid perſon to whom the ſaid lett was addreſſed at Dundalk, did employ at a conſiderable expence, an agent and counſel to act for ſeveral perſons who were accuſed of being Defenders, and were indicted for offences committed by them in the county of Louth, one of which offenders appears to be particularly named in the above letter. But the committee think it their duty to ſtate, that nothing appeared before them which could lead them to believe that the body of the Roman Catholics in this Kingdom were concerned in promoting or countenancing ſuch diſturbances, or that they were privy to this application of any part of the money which had been levied upon them, however ſuſpicious the conduct of ill-diſpoſed individuals of their perſuaſion reſident in Dublin may have been. If all the magiſtrates in the diſturbed counties had followed the ſpirited example of the few, who, much, to their honour, exerted themſelves with vigour and courage to ſupport the laws, the committee are perſuaded that theſe diſturbances might have been ſuppreſſed; but inſtead of doing ſo, much the greater part of them remained inactive. The committee are of opinion that the beſt means of reſtoring permanent tranquillity in the diſturbed counties, would be to procure a ſufficient number of active, reſolute, and ſteady magiſtrates therein, who would exert themſelves to maintain the public peace, and to cut off from theſe deluded people all hope or expectation of ſupport or defence ariſing from a common fund to be levied upon perſons of their communion.

An unuſual ferment has for ſome months paſt diſturbed ſeveral parts of the North, particularly the town of Belfaſt and the county of Antrim; it is kept up and encouraged by ſeditious papers and pamphlets of the moſt dangerous tendency, printed at very cheap and inconſiderable rates in Dublin and Belfaſt, which iſſue almoſt daily from certain ſocieties of men or clubs in both thoſe places, calling themſelves committees under various deſcriptions, and carrying on a conſtant correſpondence with each other. Theſe publications are circulated amongſt the people with the utmoſt induſtry, and appear to be calculated to defame the government and parliament, and to render the people diſſatisfied with

their condition and with the laws. The conduct of the French is ſhamefully extolled, and recommended to the public view as an example for imitation; hopes and expectations have been held up of their aſſiſtance by a deſcent upon this kingdom, and prayers have been offered up at Belfaſt from the pulpit for the ſucceſs of their arms in the preſence of military aſſociations which have been newly levied and arrayed in that town. A body of men aſſociated themſelves in Dublin under the title of the Firſt National Battalion, their uniform is copied from the French, green turned with white, white waiſtcoat and ſtriped trowſers, gilt buttons preſſed with a harp and letters, importing "Firſt National Battalion," no crown, but a device over the harp of a cap of liberty upon a pike; two pattern coats were left at two ſhops in Dublin. Several bodies of men have been collected in different parts of the North, armed and diſciplined under officers choſen by themſelves, and compoſed moſtly of the loweſt claſſes of the people. Theſe bodies are daily encreaſing in numbers and force; they have exerted their beſt endeavours to procure military men of experience to act as their officers, ſome of them having expreſsly ſtated that there were men enough to be had, but that officers were what they wanted. Stands of arms and gunpowder to a very large amount, much above the common conſumption, have been ſent within theſe few months to Belfaſt and Newry, and orders given for a much greater quantity, which it appears could be wanted only for military operations. At Belfaſt, bodies of men in arms are drilled and exerciſed for ſeveral hours almoſt every night by candle-light, and attempts have been made to ſeduce the ſoldiery, which, much to the honour of the King's forces, have proved ineffectual. The declared object of theſe military bodies is to procure a reform of parliament, but the obvious intention of moſt of them appears to be to overawe the parliament and the government, and to dictate to both. The committee forbear mentioning the names of ſeveral perſons, leſt it ſhould in any manner affect any criminal proſecution, or involve the perſonal ſafety of any man who has come forward to give them information. The reſult of their inquiries is, that in their opinion it is incompatible with the public ſafety and tranquillity of this kingdom to permit bodies of men in arms to aſſemble when they pleaſe, without any legal authority: And that the exiſtence of a ſelf-created repreſentative body of any deſcription of the King's ſubjects, taking upon itſelf the government of them, and levying taxes or ſubſcriptions, to be applied at the diſcretion of ſuch repreſentrtive body, or of perſons deputed by them, is alſo incompatible with the public ſafety and tranquillity.

No. II.

Report from the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons in 1797.

MR. SPEAKER,

The Committee of Secrecy appointed to take into conſideration the papers preſented to the Houſe on the twenty-ninth day of April laſt by the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Pelham, have directed me to report as follows:

YOUR Committee having taken into their conſideration the papers referred to them, have thought it conſiſtent with their duty to carry their enquiries back to the period of the commencement of the ſocieties ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen.

It appears that ſoon after the French Revolution certain individuals, encouraged by the example of France, aimed at the overthrow of the exiſting laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, and the eſtabliſhment of a Republic unconnected with Great Britain: that they have been encouraged to proceed to this attempt by an expectation of aid from France, and the co-operation of certain diſaffected and ſeditious ſocieties in Great Britain entertaining ſimilar views.

It appears to your Committee that their hopes of ſucceſs in this apparently improbable deſign are derived from their expectations of being able to infuſe into the minds of the lower orders of the people an idea that they are in a ſtate of oppreſſion and miſery: that the King, the Houſes of Lords and Commons, with the magiſtracy, clergy and gentry of the country, are the cauſe of their oppreſſion: that the Society of United Iriſhmen are their ſole protectors and defenders; and that the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland is inconſiſtent with the happineſs and independence of this kingdom.

It appears to your Committee that to effect their purpoſes they have organized with great addreſs and ſupported with equal activity a ſyſtem plauſible in its name, and which by a combination of certain ſpecious propoſitions with principles deſtructive of the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, leads in a manner the moſt inſidious to anarchy, confiſcation of property, and the extermination of its proprietors.

It appears to your Committee that in the original formation of this ſociety, its authors, to avoid alarming the feelings of thoſe who were not prepared at once to go to the full extent of their dangerous and traitorous deſigns, held forth Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform as the oſtenſible objects of their union: but their real purpoſes were to ſeparate Great Britain from Ireland and to

ſubvert the preſent conſtitution, as will appear more fully from the following explanation given by Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, one of the original framers of the inſtitution, (Ap. No. I.), in a letter addreſſed to his friends at Belfaſt, and containing the reſolutions and declarations upon which the inſtitution was formed:

" The foregoing contain my true and ſincere opinion of the ſtate " of this country, ſo far as in the preſent juncture it may be ad- " viſeable to publiſh it. They certainly fall ſhort of the truth, but " truth itſelf muſt ſometimes condeſcend to temporize; my unal- " terable opinion is, that the bane of Iriſh proſperity is in the in- " fluence of England; I believe that influence will ever be ex- " tended while the connexion between the two countries continues; " nevertheleſs, as I know that opinion is for the preſent too hardy, " though a very little time may eſtabliſh it univerſally, I have not " made it a part of the reſolutions; I have only propoſed to ſet up " a reformed parliament as a barrier againſt that miſchief which " every honeſt man that will open his eyes muſt ſee in every in- " ſtance overbears the intereſt of Ireland: I have not ſaid one " word that looks like a wiſh for ſeparation, though I give it to you " and your friends as my moſt decided opinion that ſuch an Event " would be a regeneration to this country.

" I have, you will ſee, alluded to the reſolutions of the Whig " Club, and I have differed with them in degree only, that is, I " think and I am ſure they do not go far enough; they are not " ſincere friends to the popular cauſe; they dread the people as " much as the Caſtle does; it may be objected that an implied " difference of ſentiment between them and the people will weaken " both: I think otherwiſe; if they do not join you in ſupporting " a reform in parliament they do not deſerve ſupport themſelves; " apply the touchſtone, if they ſtand the trial, well; if they fail, " they are falſe and hollow, and the ſooner they are detected the " better; what ſignifies peddling with their ſuperficial meaſures? " They are good ſo far as they go, but for the people to ſpend " their ſtrength in purſuit of ſuch would be juſt as wiſe as for a " man who has a mortification in his bowels to be very ſolicitous " about a plaiſter for his ſore finger. To be candid, I dare ſay " that my Lord Charlemont, and I am pretty ſure that Mr. Grat- " tan would heſitate very much at the reſolutions which I ſend; " but I only beg you will diſmiſs your reſpect for great names; " read over the reſolutions and what I have now ſaid, and then " determine impartially between us. I have alluded to the Catho- " lics, but ſo remotely as I hope not to alarm the moſt cautious " Proteſtant; it is wicked nonſenſe to talk of a reform in Ireland " in which they ſhall not have their due ſhare.

" I have in the third reſolution conceded very far indeed to what " I conſider as vulgar and ignorant prejudices: look at France and " America; the Pope burnt in effigy at Paris; the Engliſh catho-

" lics at this very hour feceding from his church. A thouſand ar-
" guments crowd on me, but it is unneceſſary here to dwell on
" them. I hope you will find this reſolution ſufficiently guarded
" and cool. I have been purpoſely vague and indefinite, and I
" muſt ſay men who would ſeek a reform, and admit that indiſ-
" penſable ſtep, have different notions both of expediency and juſ-
" tice from any that I can conceive.

" I think the beſt opportunity for publiſhing them will be on
" the 14th of July; I learn there is to be a commemoration of the
" French revolution, that morning ſtar of liberty to Ireland. The
" volunteers, if they approved of the plan, may then adopt it, and
" I have ſo worded it as to leave them an opportunity. I have left
" as you ſee a blank for the name."

It appears that a ſociety, calling themſelves a ſociety of United Iriſhmen in Dublin, (Ap. No. II.), did on the 9th day of November 1791 take as their declaration that of a ſimilar ſociety in Belfaſt, which nearly correſponds with the plan of Mr. Tone, with the addition of a teſt to be taken by the members.

It appears that this ſociety did actually meet and correſpond with certain ſeditious ſocieties in Great Britain, and in furtherance of their deſigns of ſeparating the kingdoms and alienating the minds of his Majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland, did repreſent in different publications, the connexion as oppreſſive and tyrannical.

Your committee then directed their enquiries to the means by which the papers referred to them in conſequence of the Lord Lieutenant's meſſage had been procured; and in order the better to aſcertain the credit to be given to their contents they examined the perſons by whom they had been taken, from whence it appears that upon information being given of certain ſocieties or committees being appointed to aſſemble at the houſe of John Alexander in the town of Belfaſt at the hour of eight o'clock on Friday the 14th of April laſt, Colonel Barber, with a detachment of the army, went to the ſaid houſe, where two ſocieties were then actually ſitting.

Mr. Fox, ſtore-keeper of the ordnance, under the direction of Colonel Barber, entered one of the rooms in which one of the committees or ſocietics was ſitting, with their papers before them, round a table, and their ſecretary in the chair; and it appears in the minute book, that the ſociety had adjourned from the 9th to the 14th of April, the day on which they were arreſted, to ſit at the ſaid houſe.

Lieutenant Elliſon of the artillery entered another room in the ſame houſe where another committee was ſitting; the papers belonging to that committee or ſociety were in the hat of a perſon who ſat at the head of the table, and appears from the papers to have been the ſecretary of that ſociety.

At the ſame time Mr. Atkinſon, high conſtable of Belfaſt, found concealed in another room of the ſame houſe, papers purporting to

belong to another committee or ſociety, viz. the eightieth ſociety.

Theſe papers conſiſt of

1. The printed declaration and conſtitution of the United Iriſhmen.
2. Minutes of the proceedings of two of the ſocieties.
3. Reports from provincial and County Committees.
4. A report from the Military Committee.
5. Forms of the oath of an officer and of a ſoldier.
6. Names of ſome of the ſociety, with the arms that they poſſeſs.
7. Size roll of the ſociety.
8. A liſt of the families that have received relief.
9. Reſolutions of the united ſocieties of Donagadhee and its vicinity.
10. Other looſe notes and papers of their proceedings.

It appears to your committee that the declaration is the ſame as that adopted by the United Iriſhmen in 1791, and the conſtitution formed upon the principles recommended in an addreſs of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen in Dublin to the Iriſh nation, William Drennan in the chair, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan, ſecretary, in which it is ſtated, "Truſt as little to your friends as to your ene-
" mies in a matter where you can act only by yourſelves; the will
" of the nation muſt be declared before any reform ought to take
" place; it is not therefore any claſs, however numerous, any ſo-
" ciety however reſpectable, any ſubaltern aſſembly, that have either
" right or competency to expreſs that authoritative will; nothing
" leſs than the people can ſpeak for the people; this competency
" reſides not in a few freeholders ſhivering in the corner of a county
" hall, but only in the whole community repreſented in each county,
" (as at preſent in Antrim) by Parochial Delegation, and then from
" each county by Baronial Delegation to Provincial Conventions,
" the union of which muſt form the awful will of the people of
" Ireland."

The conſtitution is as follows:

CONSTITUTION.

1ſt. This ſociety is conſtituted for the purpoſe of forwarding a btotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legiſlature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.

2. The members of this ſociety ſhall either be ordinary or honorary, and ſhall not be limited to any deſcription of men, but to extend to all perſons who may be deemed eligible.

3. Every candidate for admiſſion into this ſociety ſhall be propoſed by one member and ſeconded by another, both of whom ſhall vouch for his character and principles, and whoſe name ſhall be entered on the books of the ſociety ; the candidate to be balloted for on the ſociety's ſubſequent meeting, and if one of the beans be black he ſhall ſtand rejected.

4. As a fund is neceſſary, the better to carry into effect the purpoſe of this aſſociation, each member on his admiſſion ſhall pay to the ſociety the ſum of and per month while he ſhall continue a member.

5. The officers of this ſociety ſhall be a Secretary and Treaſurer, who ſhall be appointed by ballot every three months, viz. on every firſt meeting in November, February, May and Auguſt.

6. This ſociety in manner aforeſaid ſhall appoint two members, who with the ſecretary ſhall act for the ſociety in a Baronial Committee, which members ſhall receive on each night of their attendance on ſaid committee

7. This ſociety ſhall in manner aforeſaid appoint members, who with the treaſurer ſhall form a committee of Finance, &c.

8. At the requeſt of either committees, or any members ſigning a requiſition, the ſecretary or if he ſhall be abſent the treaſurer ſhall call an extra meeting of the ſociety.

9. This ſociety ſhall meet in ordinary every ſecond evening at o'clock, the preſident to be choſen by a majority of the members preſent of whom ſhall be a quorum.

10. Every reſpect and deference ſhall be paid to the chairman. On his riſing from his ſeat and taking off his hat there ſhall be ſilence, and the members ſeated. He ſhall be judge of order and propriety ; ſhall grant leave of abſence at pleaſure ; ſhall not enter into debate. If any member behave improperly, he is empowered to direct an apology, or, if refractory, fine him in any ſum not exceeding and on refuſing to do as directed, he ſhall therefore be expelled the ſociety for

11. No member ſhall ſpeak more than twice to one queſtion without leave from the chairman.

12. Every perſon elected a member of this ſociety, whether ordinary or honorary, ſhall previous to his admiſſion take the following *Teſt* in a ſeparate apartment in the preſence of the perſons who propoſed and ſeconded him, and one member appointed by the chairman ; or in caſe of abſence of one of the two perſons, the chairman ſhall appoint another member to act for the abſentee, after which the new member ſhall be brought into the body of the ſociety, and there take the teſt in the uſual form.

TEST.

In the awful preſence of God,

I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that I will perſevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among IRISHMEN of *every* religious perſuaſion, and that I will alſo perſevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full and adequate repreſentation of *all* the people of Ireland.

I do further declare that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or puniſhments, ſhall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on or give evidence againſt any member or members of this or ſimilar ſocieties, for any act or expreſſion of theirs, done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this ſociety, in purſuance of the ſpirit of this obligation.

13th. A member of any other acknowledged ſociety, being introduced to this ſociety by a member, ſhall, upon producing a certificate, ſigned by the ſecretary, and ſealed with the ſeal of the ſociety to which he may belong, and taking the foregoing teſt, be admitted to attend the ſittings of this ſociety.

14th. No member ſhall have a certificate but by applying to the committee, who ſhall not grant it unleſs the member is leaving his place of reſidence, which certificate ſhall be lodged with the ſecretary on his return.

15th. When this ſociety ſhall amount to the number of thirty-ſix members, it ſhall be equally divided by lot*; that is, the names of all the members ſhall be put into a hat or box, the ſecretary or treaſurer ſhall draw out eighteen individually, which eighteen ſhall be conſidered the ſenior ſociety, and the remaining eighteen the junior, who ſhall apply to the Baronial Committee, through the Delegates of the ſenior ſociety for a number, and that this diviſion ſhall take place only in the months of October, January, April and July.—The fund ſhall alſo be equally divided.

16th. That no ſociety ſhall be recognized by any committee, unleſs approving of, and taking the teſt, and amounting in number to ſeven members.

Order of Buſineſs at Meetings.

1ſt. New members read declaration and teſt, during which ſubſcriptions to be collected.

2d. New members take the teſt, all members ſtanding and uncovered.

* *Societies in country places to divide as may beſt ſuit their local ſituation.*

3d. Minutes of preceding meeting read.
4th. Reports of committees received.
5th. Communications called for.
6th. Candidates balloted for.
7th. Candidates propoſed.
8th. Motions made and determined.
9th. Place and time of next meeting appointed.

CONSTITUTION of COMMITTEES,

As adopted the 10th of May.

Baronial Committees.

1ſt. When any barony or other diſtrict ſhall contain three or more ſocieties, three perſons from each ſhall be elected by ballot, conformable to the ſixth article, to form a Baronial Committee (for three months:) their names to be returned to the Secretary of the ſenior ſociety, who ſhall requeſt a deputation from the neareſt Baronial Committee to conſtitute a committee for the ſaid barony or other diſtrict.

2d. When any barony or diſtrict ſhall contain eight ſocieties, they may form another committee, to be called the ſecond committee of ſaid barony or diſtrict, provided each contains three or more ſocieties.

3d. Baronial Committees ſhall receive Delegates from ſocieties of a contiguous barony, provided ſaid barony do not contain three ſocieties.

4th. That the Baronial Committee ſhall correſpond with ſocieties or individuals who have ſubſcribed the declaration and taken the teſt of the preſent aſſociated ſocieties.

5th. That all queſtions ſhall be determined by a majority of the members preſent.

6th. That the Baronial Committee being regularly ſummoned, the one third of its members ſhall be deemed a quorum, and capable of proceeding to buſineſs.

7th. That any buſineſs originating in any individual ſociety, ſhall at the inſtance of ſuch ſociety's Delegates be by the Baronial Committee laid before the other ſocieties.

County Committees.

1ſt. When any county ſhall contain three or more Baronial Committees, two perſons ſhall be elected by ballot from each Baronial Committe to form a County Committee (for three months.)

2d. County Committees ſhall receive Delegates from Baronial

Committees of adjacent counties, if ſaid counties do not contain three Baronial Committees.

Provincial Committees.

1ſt. When two or more counties ſhall have County Committees, three perſons ſhall be elected by ballot from each to form a Provincial Committee (for three months.)

2d. Delegates from County Committees in other provinces will be received, if ſuch provinces do not contain two County Committees

National Committee.

That when two Provincial Committees are formed they ſhall elect five perſons from each by ballot, to form a National Committee.

N. B. Society's firſt meetings in November, February, May and Auguſt, to be on or before the 5th; Baronial Committees on or before the 8th; County Committees on or before the 15th, and Provincial Committees on or before the 25th of the above months.

Baronial, County and Provincial Committees ſhall meet at leaſt once in every month, and report to their conſtituents.

Names of committee men ſhould not be known by any perſon but thoſe who elect them.

Teſt for Secretaries of Societies or Committees.

" In the awful preſence of God,

" I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that as long as I ſhall hold the
" office of ſecretary to this I will to the utmoſt
" of my abilities faithfully diſcharge the duties thereof.
" That all papers or documents received by me as Secretary I
" will in ſafety keep; I will not give any of them or any copy or
" copies of them to any perſon or perſons, members or others, but
" by a vote of this and that I will at the
" expiration of my Secretaryſhip deliver up to this
" all ſuch papers as may be then in my poſſeſſion."

CERTIFICATE.

" Society of United Iriſhmen of

" I hereby certify that *A. B.* has been duly elected, and having
" taken the teſt provided in the conſtitution, has been admitted a
" member of this Society."

Your committee think it neceſſary to point out a manifeſt and ſtriking diſtinction in the teſt annexed to the original declaration of the United Iriſhmen and that annexed to this conſtitution, and which corroborates the opinion your committee have already given, that reform of parliament was only a colourable object to work on the minds of the people, but that their real object was the overthrow of the conſtitution.

The original teſt holds forth a repreſentation of the Iriſh nation in parliament, and a reform of that parliament.

The preſent teſt, which your committee find to be the one univerſally adopted in the Societies of which they have received information, and under which all the United Iriſhmen are at preſent ſworn, purpoſely omits the words, *Parliament and Reform*, thereby clearly ſhewing, that an original inſtitution independent of parliament is the object, which is ſtill farther proved by the reports and communications between the Committees and Societies, in which they mention an Executive Committee, under the authority of which they ſeem to act.

It appears to your committee, that the conſtitution ſo recommended is in a great meaſure carried into effect, and that ſuch committees do exiſt.

That Secretaries have been elected in theſe Societies; that committee-men have been appointed; that monthly centributions have been levied; that a Treaſurer has been appointed; that perſons have been named to purchaſe pikes; that it was reſolved to furniſh pikes at the expenſe of the ſociety for thoſe who could not afford to purchaſe them; that perſons have been interrogated for their conduct; that reports have been received and approved of; that a military committee has been appointed; that returns of arms, ammunition and men are made to the Military Committee; and that officers have been appointed, will appear from the following entries in the minute-book of the ſociety, ſeized by Mr. Fox.

Entries in the Minute Book, No. 2, ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox, Page 6, 7, and 8.

Reſolved, that the Secretary ſhall be known by the name of 54th Secretary of United Iriſhmen of Belfaſt.

James Burnſide elected Secretary, Pat. Handlam and John Atkinſon committee men.

Reſolved, that we will pay into the Baronial Committee 2s. 8½d. per month.

Edward Kelly and Terence M'Cann, along with the Treaſurer, appointed to attend a committee of finance.

James Burnſide elected Treaſurer.

Oct. 31ſt 1796.

At a Meeting held in John Alexander's,
Richard M'Gee, Chair.

Reſolved, that three men be appointed to purchaſe pikes and poles for this ſociety—James Burnſide, Pat. M'Stravock, and Richard M'Gee were appointed.

Reſolved, that any man that fairly tells any of theſe three appointed that he is not able to purchaſe a pike, that he ſhall be furniſhed with one out of the fund of this ſociety.

Reſolved, that we meet at Crozier's in Union-ſtreet at eight o'Clock on Sunday 6th November in the morning.

Crozier's, 6th Nov. 1796.

Edward Kelly, Chairman.

James Burnſide elected Secretary.

Edward Kelly and Terence M'Cann were appointed committee men to attend the ninth diviſion.

Reſolved, that John Barret be interrogated who was the perſon gave him the word and ſign.

Reſolved, that if John Barret does not tell who it was that gave him the word and ſign, and take the oath that is neceſſary, he ſhall be excluded this ſociety.

Reſolved, that each member ſhall ſpend two-pence each night of meeting.

Page 10. January 1ſt 1797.

Richard M'Gee, Chairman.

Reſolved, that all money or ſubſcription received for this ſociety ſhall go to the uſe of buying pikes.

Page 11. Nickles's, 22d January 1797.

Reſolved, that we approve of the Reports that we have received from the committee.

Reſolved, that E. Kelly and R. M'Gee does attend the Civil Committee for this enſuing three months.

February 5th 1797.

Edward Clements, Chairman.

Reſolved, that we approve of the report we have now heard read.

Page 12.

Resolved, that we will not receive any other person from the Military Committee but such as we have appointed.

Resolved, that Wm. Stewart get a copy of this Resolution to lay before the committee.

Sunday, 19th Feb. 1797.

John Milton, Chairman.

Resolved, that we will ballot for two new members to attend the Military Committee in the place of Wm. Stewart and Richd. M'Gee.

Resolved, that John Miller and Thomas Hanlon does attend the Military Committee till farther order of this Society.

Page 13.

Resolved, that James M'Donald gets a copy of the arms, ammunition, and men belonging to this society to lay before the M. Committee.

Young's Tavern.

E. Kelly, Chairman.

Resolved, that the reports which we have now received from the committee is apd. of by this society.

Page 14.

Resolved by this society, that each member who does not attend after legal warning, shall be expelled this society.

Resolved by this society, that the military officers shall get a list of the men's names belonging to this society to lay before the Military Committee.

Page 15. Morrison's, 2d April.

John Milton, Chairman.

Resolved, that the officers shall get a list of the men's names under their command.

Page 16. Alexander's, 9th April.

Resolved, that John Milton gets a caution from E. Kelly that he is clear of the charge laid against him.

Reſolved, that we meet on Friday next in John Allexander's at 8 o'clock.

It has appeared in evidence that the communication between the different ſocieties and committees is carried by means of the Secretaries and Delegates who take notes of what paſſes in order to report to and from the higher and lower Societies, and by this means the repreſentations and opinions of the inferior Societies are communicated to their ſuperiors, and the orders and inſtructions from the higher ſocieties and committees are conveyed to the inferior ones.

It appears in evidence that the reports are not entered on the minutes, but uſually deſtroyed after being read by Secretary.

Your committee think it neceſſary for the information of the houſe to ſtate at length the following papers, which will in a great meaſure develope the ſyſtem upon which theſe ſocieties proceed, and appear to be reports made by Secretaries.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Atkinſon.

No. 7.

Reſolutions of the United Societies of Donaghadee and its Vicinity.

1ſt. Reſolved, that it has always been the invariable opinion of all ſound philoſophers, ſtateſmen, and divines, that all power is radically in the people.

2d. Reſolved, that when tyrants, uſurpers, and oppreſſors, graſping at Domination, or even ſuch as are legally delegated by the people, degenerate into tyrants, or act contrary to the truſt committed to them, in that caſe the people ought to claim their right, and the power return to its original channel.

3d. Reſolved, that at the preſent criſis the people being united ſhould alſo arm, chuſe their officers, and take a firſt, ſecond, and third requiſition of ſuch as are able to go forth to war in defence of their rights as men.

4th. Reſolved, that our brethren in arms be duly provided for with ſuch things as their caſe and ſituation requires, and that means be adopted that their families may not ſuffer in their abſence.

5th. Reſolved, that to anſwer ſuch emergencies a contribution be impoſed upon the people in general according to theirreſpective circumſtances; rents and tythes ſhall alſo be conſidered, the latter of which, except in the preſent emergency, ſhall for ever be aboliſhed.

6th. Reſolved, that there are a great many inimical, and will no doubt prove hoſtile to the cauſe of liberty; their eſtates or property ſhall be confiſcated and converted to the national benefit.

7. Reſolved, that the civil law muſt always be kept up and proper men appointed to prevent outrage in the country, and theſe men to be aſſiſted by a military force when called upon, and that ſaid men ſhall take proper meaſures to ſupport both the inhabitants and military with proper neceſſaries.

8th. Reſolved, that there ſhall be a national, or (if it be thought more eligible) a provincial fund, where the property of the enemy ſhall be depoſited, and that drafts for the above purpoſes ſhall be made as neceſſity ſhall require.

9th. Reſolved, that any avowed enemy to the cauſe ſhall not have admittance into the ranks when it makes its appearance, but ſhall be taken as priſoners, and tried by a jury according to the law then exiſting, and if found guilty their property diſpoſed of according to ſaid law.

10. Reſolved, that farmers or ſuch as poſſeſs a redundancy of victualling ſhall bring it forward to ſale, and the families of ſuch as are called off in the cauſe of their country ſhall be ſupplied thereby at a moderate price, which ſhall be agreed on by the Revolutionary Committee, or fit men delegated by them.

11th. Reſolved, that the wounded, the widow, and fatherleſs of ſuch as have fought in the cauſe of their country ſhall be provided for, or ſupported from the aforeſaid fund.

12th. Reſolved, that there ſhall be an aſſociation under the name and deſignation of a Revolutionary Committee, compoſed of the beſt qualified and moſt reſpectable characters, viz. one man choſen from each ſociety, and delegated by ſaid ſociety to meet together, who ſhall keep and enforce the above reſolutions, and take care that they be carried into effect, and duly executed whenever the cauſe ſhall require.

13th Reſolved, that to act in concert with the Revolutionary Committee, there ſhall be magiſtrates appointed and veſted with executive power; which ſhall continue in office for the ſpace of ſix months only, except in caſe of re-election; but if a revolution is accompliſhed, an annual election ſhall take place.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Lieutenant Elliſon.

No. 7.

Reports from the Baronial Committee.

				£.	s.	d.
Men,	Antrim	22922	Money	78	6	8
	Down	16000	- -	40	11	8
	Derry	10000	- -	8	5	9

Tyrone	6860	-	-	—	— —
Armagh	4000	-	-	7	8 5
Monaghan	3020	-	-	—	— —
Donegal	5000	-	-	9	9 7
Cavan	1000	-	-	—	— —
Meath	1776	-	-	—	— —
Fermanagh	2000	-	-	—	— —
Louth	2060	-	-	—	— —
Total men	72206			144	2 1½

Paid to Antrim Priſoners	-	78	6 8
Down Do.	-	11	7 6
Fermanagh Do	-	7	19 3
a Delegate of Tyrone	-	2	5 6
		99	18 11
Balance	-	44	3 2½

The following counties are formed into another Provincial Committee, viz. Weſtmeath, Kildare, Dublin City; the above counties are organized and are coming on well. Dublin is divided into four diſtricts; your Executive Committee give no other reports than the organizing the above; not having met lately, there will a report be at next meeting of your Provincial Committee. Newry citizens have been very liberal, they voted £21 11s. as private ſubſcription in addition to the large voluntary ones forwarded to their country; they employed a Delegate to Cavan and Leinſter counties, where they formed a number of ſocieties; they promiſe to do well; caſh ſeventeen pounds. There is a Captain St. Leger of the 24th dragoons at preſent in Armagh for being an active U. I. M. to which they ſent £4 11s. to be divided among his party that is confined; he has a wife and four children; his pay was taken from him, nor was he allowed to diſpoſe of his commiſſion. Recommended that all monthly ſubſcriptions of counties be counted as if going to the Provincial Committee, that is to ſay, reſerving a power to the counties diſcretion whatever ſum they may think neceſſary to grant their priſoners at. Balance to be paid to the Provincial Committee, which will ſhew at once the ſum paid by each Committee, likewiſe that there will a monthly return of U. I. M. confined in each county, and what is allowed for their ſupport; the county of Tyrone is much confuſed at preſent, owing to ſome their county

members confined at preſent there; twenty-five men confined, not many the laſt month to ſupport there; one there was, ſeven guineas voted to their ſupport; they promiſed a return for this in another month; there was ſeveral petitions received from Kildare, and it is warmly recommended to the different counties to bring ſomething forward for their ſupport; laſt Provincial Meeting county Down Delegates reported, that William Briſtow of this town has a Provincial account of laſt meeting previous to the Sub-committee: Belfaſt therefore be cautious, for ſome ſecretary is certainly deceiving us; the old word and ſign of U. I. Men is aboliſhed to further orders. Louth Delegates reported, that two men from Belfaſt, Dennis Digney and Robert Rowny, behaved very ill, and was very near diſorganizing ſaid county on account of making uſe of lying reports and words and things of their making; your Provincial Committee don't approve of the reports of the county reſpecting new code of laws, being quite too premature, your Execc have that to do or to frame them; Armagh have appointed five to ſupport their priſoners; Monaghan Delegates have a conſiderable ſum of money, but being ſo young in the buſineſs did not know how to bring it forward, but will on the next meeting; the city of Dublin is doing well; ſent to Newry for five conſtitutions, and going on regular and is collecting money; will pay as ſoon as poſſible for the forwarding the buſineſs in the upper part of the county of Meath and Kildare; Dr. C q. take from Newry fifteen conſtitutions to the county Kildare, and promiſed to diſtribute them there with much attention; the delegates thought it proper to give in the ſums of money ſubſcribed by you to the Provincial Committee, being well aware of the numerous complaints made againſt your county for neglecting bringing forward money ſubſcribed monthly; the Treaſurer of county Louth in Dublin; county of Antrim is far deficient reſpecting the monthly ſubſcription, for the county Down on an average pays not leſs than ninety pounds per month to priſoners and provincial county.

Report of the County of Antrim.

Belfaſt.

Men 2,639	
526	Guns
399	Bayonets
88	Piſtols
567	Pikes
12,130	Ball Cart^{s}.

15,953 Balls
566 Powder
6 Canons
1 Mortar

County total 23,059
2,659 Guns
982 Bayonets
204 Piſtols
2,348 Pikes
85 Swords
18,235 Ball Car^s.
2,358 Balls
628½ Powder
8 Canons
1 Mortar

Paper ſeized and identified by Mr. Elliſon.

No. 2.

7th December.

2434 Men repreſonted in Belfaſt—24^o. guns—212 bayonets—19 piſtols—32 ſwords—120 pikes—8027 rounds of ball cartridge—82 pounds of powder—16 ſetts of belts and 2 forkes.

COUNTY REPORTS.

20184 Men, 1179 guns, 255 bayonets, 35 piſtols, 37 ſwords, 874 ball-cartridge in the ſeveral baronies repreſented in the County Committee

	£.	s.	d.
Upper Belfaſt - - paid	10	10	4
Lower ditto - - - -	1	8	11
Upper Mazareen - - -	2	1	8
Lower ditto - - -	14	15	9
Upper Antrim - - -	3	2	—
Lower ditto - - -	5	1	4½
Upper Toom - - -	3	8	3
Lower ditto - - -	18	4	8½
Lower Dunluſe - - - -	1	14	1½

Upper Glenarm - - - -	1	10	6
Lower Toom paid as voluntary subscription -	4	1	—
	£.65	18	7½

The above money was paid the county committee.

PROVINCIAL REPORTS.

County of			£.	s.	d.	Voluntary. £.	s.	d.
Antrim -	19256	For which they paid	29	17	5½	19	17	6
Downe -	12556		27	2	5½			
Derry -	8000		16	16	10½			
Donegal -	3000		2	2	4			
Tyrone -	6500		21	12	3	12	10	3
Louth -	1300		3	6	8			
Armagh -	2500	paid nothing						
Monaghan -	2500	ditto						
Cavan -	800	ditto						
Meath -	1776	ditto						
Fermanagh -	1500	ditto						
	59688	men	100	18	—½	32	7	9

Your Provincial Committee reported that your Executive Committee did not act properly, in consequence of which your Provincial stripped of all their powers and dissolved them, and formed a new one; but to prevent the men that composed your Ex. C. to have any excuse, your Provincial C. elected two-thirds of the old members for three months, and if they do not act as your Provincial C. thinks right, they will turn them out and put new ones in their place—the other third are men of respectability and honour, and they come under your Provincial C. inspection and are accountable to your Provincial C. for money and measures; some one handed in a report to pr. as follows: recommending to U. I—n to be very circumspect in their conduct, as the only wish of Government was to goad us into insurrection, by which means they would have it in their power to put us down, never to rise, at least for a century, and likewise we have paid a great deal of money to the people in goal and it will take a large sum of money to assist them all winter; we request the Co^e. to allow us to take our superior officers for our body from the South, of the best men, but notwithstanding the treatment your Provincial received from your

Ex. C^e. your provincial C. acted with great caution and prudence; in consequence of people being disappointed so often in coming from the farthest parts of this kingdom to Belfast for constitutions, they allow them to be printed in three parts of this kingdom; they recommend to all U. I—n not to buy any thing from despots if they can possibly help it——Your provincial C. earnestly recommends to all U. I—n to keep from intoxication——they promised to give to the county the number of defenders in Ireland—a defender up the country promised to give four thousand guineas for the use of the U. I—n, and all he asks is three or four of the U. I—n as security for that sum.——Reported in the county C. that the Privy Council of Ireland summoned the titlar bishops, and bribed them with 500 guineas, and desired them to summon the priests, and the priests for to do all in their power to find out if any of their hearers was U. I—n, or held any conversation with the like, and if there was any that was, or did so, to excommunicate them from the church.-——Your county C. thinks that if there is any U. I—n on the jury that will commit any of the prisoners that is confined for being U. I—n, ought to lose their existence——The Orange men in the county of Tyrone are taking the arms from the defenders.

A member of your county C. called a meeting of the same to petition parliament for a reform of parliament, but all the members except a few were utterly against any such thing.

BELFAST, BARONIAL REPORTS.

1st battalion of military came to a resolution to divide into divisions, each division to compose three societies, and out of them to appoint 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, the rest to be sergeants.

Resolved, That the 6th division gets four constitution, three of them to send up the country.——Resolved, that the 8 division be granted one constitution for the 80 society.——Resolved, that the 3d division be granted one do. for the prisoners in Carrick.——Resolved, that the 20 society be granted one constitution, and No. 11, for them split, as that number was never filled.——Resolved, that no secretary of societies or committees give any reports they may receive to any person but in the society or committee, and if any person be present not belonging to said society or committee, that they will not give the report in presence of the stranger.

Resolved, That we recommend to the military battalion to appoint men that can work field-pieces.

The 1st division recommended to all societies not to have any thing to say to father and son, name of Procter, sawyers.

Paper writing, ſeized and identified by Mr. Atkinſon.

No. 1.

Provintial Report.			Priſoners.		
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.		
Antrim -	22039	50 11 $6\frac{1}{2}$	50 11 $6\frac{1}{2}$		
Down -	23769	75 — $9\frac{1}{2}$	75 — $9\frac{1}{2}$		
Derry -	10000	— — —	— — —		
Armagh -	12273	44 10 —	22 15 —		
Donegal -	9648	25 — —	15 1 $1\frac{1}{2}$		
Monaghan -	3075	17 4 6	— — —		
Tyrone -	12169	22 10 2	11 5 1		
Lowth -	3438	— — —	— — —		
Cavan -	1000	— — —	— — —		
Fermanagh	2000	— — —	— — —		
	99411	234 17 —	174 13 $6\frac{1}{2}$		
For 8000 conſtitutions -			13 13 —		
To the Executive -			— 11 $5\frac{1}{2}$		
			234 17 —		

Antrim, Armagh, Down, Lowth.

Guns	Bayonets	Piſtols	Swords	Pikes
6346	2536	465	202	3816
Ball Cartridge	Balls	Powder	Cannon	Blunderbuſſes
20774	31699	1123	8	18
		1 Mortar		

The reports ſooner nor uſual on account of our friends being expected ſoon into Bantry; government is uſing all means in their power to put us into inſurrection, the Executive is taking proper meaſures to appoint proper officers. Mitchel the cows has got him in Dublin. No perſon to inſult yeomen on account of ſome of them turning out; ſet your face againſt bank notes and exciſe buſineſs, as that is the beſt means to harraſs the government; the Executive requeſts the full returns of men and arms and means of defence as in caſe if our friends not coming, but there is no danger for to no our own ſtrength. Leinſter commit. on Sunday laſt met, but we could have no return of provintial report that each county takes it to account to make friends of Catholics and Orange men as it is doing a great dail of good in Armagh.

Antrim 22480—44l. 2s. 1½d.—Voluntary 203l. 16s. 3½d.

Guns	Bayonets	Piſtols	Swords	Pikes	B. Cartridge
2675	1267	302	245	3610	19919

Balls	Powder	Cannon	Mortar
53869	900½	8	1

Reſolved, that each county member brings intelligance how wifes and children is to be ſupported.

Reſolved, that 35l. 5s. 2½d. be got for the enſuing month, tryal of friends 1681. 11s.

	£.	s.	d.
Forward to provincial committee — —	34	2	6
Provincial expenſes — —	5	19	2
Treaſurer's hands — —	4	—	5½
	44	2	1

Three perſons in each diviſional comm. to ſettle any buſineſs betwixt united Iriſhmen, upper Tomb reported, Samuel Anderſon, James Murray, Gilbert Clark, John Harris formed a ſecret comm. to deſtroy united Iriſh, and Harris opened the plot againſt the whole.

Reſolved, that Dundaſs Mil. movement or other publication ſhould be read by Mil. officers.

	£.	s.	d.
Voluntary subscription from 1st division -	158	11	5½

	Guineas.
Do. for mounting cannon - -	26
2 division for cannon - -	3
9 division - - - -	1½
10 do. - - - -	1
Total -	31

Devlin and Haughner } bad men.
Artilery Militia }

Resolved, that voluntery subscription to be paid next meeting.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox.

No. 5.

A report from the military committee received as ſuch; you are to let the officers know their men and the men their officers, and do not fail to engage them in a ſolemn manner, that they may call them out on one minute's warning, and they may by that means endeavour to ſee them armed in the moſt ſpeedy manner: there is no time to be loſt, for the grand committee think that if one of the priſoners we let them be hanged, we ſhould forfeit our intention for evermore; for we know not the minute we'll be called on to give an account; for our friends is hourly expected.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox.

No. 10.

COUNTY REPORTS, 11th April, 1797.

They received from the ariſtocrats of Belfaſt 374l. 4s. 6d. which was laid out as follows:

Paid the committee appointed to attend the priſoners of this circuit - - -	283	15	0
Paid into the hands of different people to attend the priſoners out of this circuit - -	90	9	6
	374	4	6
Received from the ſocieties of this county as a voluntary ſubſcription - - -	356	10	2

which was paid to the committee for the priſoners uſe; the provincial reports that they have uſed every means to defend the priſoners at the time of trial.

Men.	Guns.	Bayonets.	Piſtols.	Swords.	Pikes.
22,716	2,948	1,536	417	397	4,888

B. Cartridges.	Balls.	lbs. Powder.	Canon.	Mortar.
24,911	70,943	1,230	8	1

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Belfaſt Town	482	17	6	12	14	1
Upper do.	38	6	1½	9	2	—
Lower do.	22	6	10½	—	—	—
Upper Maſereene	9	14	11½	—	—	—
Lower do.	28	12	8	—	—	—
Upper Antrim	83	9	—	—	—	—
Lower do.	14	10	5½	—	—	—
Upper Toome	1	14	1½	—	—	—
Lower do.	16	16	4½	3	13	—½
Upper Dunluce	3	5	9	—	—	—
Lower do.	—	—	—	1	16	—
Upper Glenarm	18	12	3	—	—	—
Lower do.	5	2	4½	—	—	—
Kilconway	1	6	3	—	—	—
Kerry	4	—	—	—	16	7
	730	14	8½	28	1	8½

The reaſon why there was not more monthly money paid was, that the people thought it rather early in the month.

Reſolved, that the Provincial form a plan for the ſupport of poor families; that they get us the number of Defenders in the kingdom who are not U. I. and if they will act in concert with U. I.

Fulton and M'Cormick, who was reported ſome time ago to behave improperly, was tried and found innocent of that charge. John Kennedy from Crew, brother-in-law to Hy. Sinclair of N. ſtreet in Belfaſt, is very bad, and came here for the purpoſe of getting information. William Pale, a deſerter, Kinly Shilock, blackſmith, of Duncathery, Robert M'Clelland from Ballymena, and John Love, an attorney of do. is all very bad, and ought to be guarded againſt.

Reſolved, that we again declare it highly improper to hold any communication with people out of ſociety, without they are well known.

Reſolved, that a committee of 7 be appointed to lay out the money for the priſoners to the amount of 200l.—66 conſtitutions was granted at this meeting.

That it be recommended to all ſocieties that is wealthy to enter into a vol. ſub. for the purpoſe of arming our poor fellow-citizens.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Lt. Elliſon.

No. 1.

11th April, 1797.

COUNTY REPORT.

	Men.	Guns.	Bayonets.	Piſtols.	Swords.
Antrim.	22,716	2,248	1,748	417	363

Piſtols.	Pikes.
363	4,888

Subſcription.

Town Belfaſt	482	17	6	Upper do.	—	— —
Lower	22	6	10½			
Upper Mazerine	9	14	11	Lower do.	26	12 10
Upper Antrim	83	12	—	Lower do.	14	13 —
Upper Toom	1	14	—½	Lower	16	16 4
Upper Dinluſe	3	5	7	Lower do.	1	16 —
Upper Glenarm	18	12	3	Lower do.	5	2 4
Kilconoury	1	6	3	Keary	4	— 7
				Total	693	8 9½

A voluntary ſubſcription got from araſtorrick		374	4 6
Paid to the North weſt Sirkiet	- -	90	9 6
To do. the North eſt do.	- -	283	15 4

Recommended to the Provenſal Ct. to form a plan of proviſion for poor mens familys during our exhorſhings in the field. Fulton and M'Cormick afirs is ſettled. Jno. brother-in-low to Hy. Sinclair from Crew, Kinly Sherlick Dimanry is a bad man and is wery dangeries to the cauſe. John Love belly moner a bad man very dangers to the cauſe. A riſulition we again declare it that it highly improper to hold any communication with perſons out of ſociety, not nowing them to be regular members. Reſolved that 7 members out of this cte. be choſen, he will be appointed, he ſhall have full power to vot away any ſums of money not exeding 200l. if in your hands, if in there hands for the ſeport of the provenſal priſiners. Laſt meeting 66 Ct. voted away.

Beroniel, Reſolved that it is recommended to the different ſocietys that is able to enter into a voluntary ſubſcription for the uſe of arming thoſe that is not able.

That theſe reports are generally circulated through the ſocieties (Ap. No. III.) is farther proved by a paper taken by a magiſtrate in a diſtant part of the county of Antrim; and another paper taken in the county of Down, near Portaferry, (Ap. No. IV.) from a perſon who acknowledged himſelf to be a ſecretary, on or about the 8th of November. The time of their forming themſelves into military bodies is aſcertained by this paper; and it is to be obſerved that the yeomanry corps eſtabliſhed by parliament about the ſame time, were reſiſted and oppoſed in thoſe parts of the kingdom where the United Iriſhmen appeared to have been moſt active.

It appears from a variety of evidence that no means are neglected for eſtabliſhing their conſtitution, and enforcing an obedience to their laws; that contributions are levied to defray the expenſes of the ſociety; that threats and intimidations are employed againſt witneſſes and jury-men, as a means to prevent their aſſociates from being brought to juſtice; and that a committee is appointed to defray the expenſes of defending ſuch as are brought to trial, or are in priſon; that the aſſiſtance of the French is expected, and held forth as negotiated for; that at Belfaſt alone exiſt 80 ſocieties at leaſt; and that emiſſaries are employed to extend theſe ſocieties; that arms and ammunition are procured, pikes bought, officers appointed, military diſcipline recommended and enforced by oaths to be taken by officers and men; (Ap. No. V.) proviſion for the families of their ſociety, during their exertions in the field; that ſuſpected perſons are brought to account for their actions, and it has been ſtated in evidence, that a tribunal is appointed for this purpoſe, who try the offenders in their abſence, and determine their puniſhment even to death.

The committee forbear from ſtating individual inſtances of outrage and aſſaſſination which have appeared to them in evidence, as they may become the ſubjects of trial in the courts of juſtice; and for the ſame reaſon your committee refrain from ſtating the parol evidence that has been laid before them, reſpecting the attempts to ſeduce the military; the committee think it their duty to ſtate the fact of ſuch attempts having been made, and at the ſame time to repreſent, that in their opinion thoſe attempts are ſo far from having been attended with the ſucceſs that was expected by thoſe who practiſed them, that the committee feel themſelves fully warranted in expreſſing the firmeſt reliance on the zeal and loyalty of his Majeſty's troops.

Your committee is inclined to believe that the numbers of the perſons ſtated in the returns of the ſeveral counties, are conſiderably over rated; for it has been ſtated to them in evidence, that every artifice is uſed to keep up their ſpirits by exaggerated reports of their ſtrength and power.

Upon the whole, dangerous and alarming as this conſpiracy appears to be, your committee is induced to believe the degrees of

criminality in the individuals who compoſe it, are very different, as it appears to have been a principle with the authors of this inſtitution, to cloak their real deſign under falſe colours.

At the ſame time your committee think it neceſſary to ſtate as their decided opinion, upon a review of the whole evidence that has been laid before the committee, that a complete revolution and confiſcation of property, and the eſtabliſhment of a Republick upon French principles, are the real objects of this conſpiracy, and not an amelioration of the preſent conſtitution.

From the importance of the matter contained in this report, your committee have thought it their duty to loſe no time in laying it before the houſe, and are proceeding in their enquiries.

The following Papers are annexed to the foregoing Report.

No. I.

" In the preſent great æra of reform, when unjuſt governments " are falling in every quarter of Europe, when religious perſecu- " tion is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conſcience, when " the rights of man are aſcertained in theory, and that theory ſub- " ſtantiated by practice, when antiquity can no longer defend ab- " ſurd and oppreſſive forms againſt the common ſenſe and common " intereſts of mankind, when all government is acknowledged to " originate from the people, and to be ſo far only obligatory as it " protects their rights, and promotes their welfare, we think it our " duty, as Iriſhmen, to come forward and ſtate what we feel to " be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual re- " medy.

" We have no National Government.

" We are ruled by Engliſhmen, and the ſervants of Engliſhmen, " filled as to commerce and politics with the ſhort-ſighted and ig- " norant prejudices of their country, and theſe men have the whole " of the power and patronage of Ireland as means to ſeduce and " to ſubdue the honeſty and the ſpirit of her repreſentatives in the " legiſlature. Such an extrinſic power, acting with uniform force " in a direction too frequently oppoſite to the true line of our ob- " vious intereſts, can be reſiſted with effect ſolely by *unanimity*, *de-* " *ciſion*, *and ſpirit in the people*, qualities which may be exerted " moſt legally, conſtitutionally, and efficaciouſly, by that great

" measure, essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland, *A*
" *more equal representation of the people in parliament.*
" We do not here mention as a grievance the rejection of a
" place bill, of a pension bill, of a responsibility bill, the sale of
" peerages in one house, the corruption publickly avowed in the
" other, nor the notorious infamy of borough traffic between both:
" not that we do not feel their enormity, but that we consider
" them but as symptoms of that mortal disease which corrodes the
" vitals of our constitution, and leaves to the people, in their own
" government, but a shadow of the name.
" Impressed with these sentiments, we the undersigned have
" agreed to form an association, to be called
" and we do pledge ourselves as citizens
" and as soldiers to our country, and mutually to each other, that
" we will steadily support and endeavour, by all due means, to
" carry into effect the following resolutions:
" 1st. Resolved, that the constitution of Ireland exists only in
" theory, inasmuch as the people are deprived of their natural
" weight in the scale of government, because they are not duly re-
" presented in parliament, and therefore that a more general ex-
" tension of the elective franchise is indispensably necessary.
" 2d. Resolved, that the weight of English influence in the
" government of this country is so great, as to require a cordial
" union among the people, to maintain that balance which is es-
" sential to the preservation of our liberties, and the extension of
" our commerce.
" 3d. Resolved, that satisfied as we are that the true greatness
" and happiness of Ireland can arise solely from a complete internal
" union of *all her people*, we lament the mistaken policy which has
" so long divided them, and that we shall heartily co-operate in all
" measures tending to the abolition of distinctions between Irish-
" men, equally invidious and unjust, and which have been uni-
" formly the source of weakness, and misery, and disgrace to the
" country.
" Such are the resolutions which we propose, as fundamental
" principles; we have gone to what we conceive to be the root of
" the evil, we have stated what we conceive to be the remedy.---
" With a reformed parliament every thing is easy, without it no-
" thing can be done, unless by means too violent for the good
" people of this country, if not provoked beyond human sufferance
" even to think on.
" And we do call on, and most earnestly exhort, our brethren
" THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, who may, *in fact*, establish,
" as they have *in theory* restored the independence of their native
" land: We call upon our countrymen in general, to follow our
" example, and to form similar societies in every quarter of the
" kingdom, for the promotion of constitutional knowledge, and

" the diſpenſation of *genuine whig principles;* the people when thus
" collected, will feel their own weight, and ſecure that power
" which theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which,
" if they be not arouſed by their preſent provocations to vindicate
" it, they deſerve to forfeit their pretenſions for EVER.

" The foregoing contain my true and ſincere opinion of the
" ſtate of this country, *ſo far as in the preſent juncture it may be*
" *adviſeable to publiſh it.* They certainly fall ſhort of the truth,
" but truth itſelf muſt ſometimes condeſcend to temporize: My
" unalterable opinion is, that the bane of Iriſh proſperity is in the
" influence of England: I believe that influence will ever be ex-
" tended, while the connexion between the countries continues;
" nevertheleſs, as I know that opinion is, *for the preſent*, too hardy,
" though a very little time may eſtabliſh it univerſally, I have not
" made it a part of the reſolutions; I have only propoſed to ſet up
" a reformed parliament as a barrier againſt that miſchief which
" every honeſt man that will open his eyes, muſt ſee in every in-
" ſtance, overbears the intereſt of Ireland: I have not ſaid one
" word that looks like a wiſh for *ſeparation*, though I give it to
" you and your friends as my moſt decided opinion, that ſuch an
" event would be a regeneration to this country.

" I have, you will ſee, alluded to the reſolutions of the *Whig*
" *Club*, and I have differed with them *in degree only*, that is, I
" think, and I am ſure, they do not go far enough---*they are not*
" *ſincere friends to the popular Cauſe*---they dread the people as much
" as the Caſtle does. It may be objected that an implied differ-
" ence of ſentiment between them and the people will weaken both
" ---I think otherwiſe. If they do not join you in ſupporting a re-
" form in parliament, they do not deſerve ſupport themſelves: Ap-
" ply the touchſtone; if they ſtand the trial, well; if they fail,
" they are falſe and hollow, and the ſooner they are detected, the
" better. What ſignifies peddling with their ſuperficial meaſures?
" They are good *ſo far as they go*, but for the people to ſpend their
" ſtrength in purſuit of ſuch, would be juſt as wiſe as for a man
" who has a mortification in his bowels, to be very ſolicitous about
" a plaiſter for his fore finger.--To be candid, I dare ſay that my
" Lord Charlemont, and I am pretty ſure that Mr. Grattan would
" heſitate very much at the reſolutions which I ſend; but I only
" beg you will diſmiſs your reſpect for great names; read over the
" reſolutions and what I have now ſaid, and then determine im-
" partially between us. I have alluded to the Catholics, but ſo re-
" motely, as I hope not to alarm the moſt cautious Proteſtant; it
" is wicked nonſenſe to talk of a reform in Ireland, in which they
" ſhall not have their due ſhare.

" I have, in the third reſolution conceded very far indeed to " what I conſider as vulgar and ignorant prejudices: Look at " France and America; the Pope burnt in effigy at Paris; the " Engliſh Catholics at this very hour ſeceding from his church: " A thouſand arguments croud on me, but it is unneceſſary here, " to dwell on them. I hope you will find this reſolution ſuffici- " ently guarded and cool. I have been purpoſely vague and inde- " finite, and I muſt ſay, men who would ſeek a reform, and omit " that indiſpenſable ſtep, have different notions, both of expediency " and juſtice, from any that I can conceive.

" I think the beſt opportunity for publiſhing them will be on " the 14th July. I learn there is to be a commemoration of the " French Revolution, that morning ſtar of liberty to Ireland. The " Volunteers, if they approve of the plan, may then adopt it, and " I have ſo worded it, as to leave them an opportunity; I have " left, as you ſee, a blank for the name, which I am clearly of " opinion ſhould be The Society of United Iriſhmen."

No. II.

Declaration of a Society, calling themſelves a Society of United Iriſhmen in Dublin, 9th November 1791, being ſimilar to that of a Society in Belfaſt.

" IN the preſent great æra of reform, when unjuſt governments " are falling in every quarter of *Europe*, when religious perſecution " is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conſcience, when the " rights of men are aſcertained in theory, and that theory ſub- " ſtantiated by practice, when antiquity can no longer defend ab- " ſurd and oppreſſive forms againſt the common ſenſe and common " intereſts of mankind, when all government is acknowledged to " originate from the people, and to be ſo far only obligatory as it " protects their rights and promotes their welfare; we think it our " duty, as Iriſhmen, to come forward and ſtate what we feel to be " our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual re- " medy.

" We have no National Government.

" We are ruled by Engliſhmen and the ſervants of Engliſhmen, " whoſe object is the intereſt of another country, whoſe inſtrument " is corruption, whoſe ſtrength is the weakneſs of Ireland, and " theſe men have the whole of the power and patronage of the " country as means to ſeduce and ſubdue the honeſty and the ſpirit

" of her repreſentatives in the legiſlature. Such an extrinſic power,
" acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently oppoſite
" to the true line of our obvious intereſts, can be reſiſted with
" effect ſolely by unanimity, deciſion and ſpirit in the people, qua-
" lities which may be exerted moſt legally, conſtitutionally and
" efficaciouſly by that great meaſure eſſential to the proſperity and
" freedom of Ireland—An equal Repreſentation of all the People
" in Parliament.

" We do not here mention as grievances, the rejection of a place
" bill, of a penſion bill, of a reſponſibility bill, the ſale of peerages
" in one houſe; the corruption publickly avowed in the other, nor
" the notorious infamy of borough traffic between both: not that
" we are inſenſible of their enormity, but that we conſider them
" as but ſymptoms of that mortal diſeaſe which corrodes the vitals
" of our conſtitution, and leaves to the people in their own govern-
" ment but the ſhadow of a name.

" Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, we have agreed to form an
" aſſociation, to be called The Society of United Iriſhmen; and we
" do pledge ourſelves to our country, and mutually to each other,
" that we will ſteadily ſupport and endeavour by all due means to
" carry into effect the following reſolutions:

" 1. Reſolved, that the weight of Engliſh influence in the Go-
" vernment of this country is ſo great as to require a cordial union
" among All the People of Ireland, to maintain that balance which
" is eſſential to the preſervation of our liberties and the extenſion of
" our commerce.

" 2. That the ſole conſtitutional mode by which this influence
" can be oppoſed is by a complete and radical reform of the repre-
" ſentation of the people in parliament.

" 3. That no reform is practicable, efficacious or juſt which ſhall
" not include Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion.

" Satisfied as we are that the inteſtine diviſions among Iriſhmen
" have too often given encouragement and impunity to audacious
" and corrupt adminiſtrations in meaſures which but for theſe di-
" viſions they durſt not have attempted, we ſubmit our reſolutions
" to the nation as the baſis of our political faith.

" We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil;
" we have ſtated what we conceive to be the remedy: with a parlia-
" ment thus reformed every thing is eaſy; without it nothing can
" be done; and we do call on and moſt earneſtly exhort our coun-
" trymen in general to follow our example, and form ſimilar ſo-
" cieties in every quarter of the kingdom for the promotion of
" conſtitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry in religion
" and politics, and the equal diſtribution of the Rights of Man
" throughout all ſects and denominations of Iriſhmen.

" The people, when thus collected, will feel their own weight,
" and ſecure that power which theory has already admitted as their

" portion, and to which, if they be not aroused by their present " provocations to vindicate it, they deserve to forfeit their preten- " sions for ever.

" JAMES NAPPER TANDY, Secretary."

TEST.

" I, A. B. in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my " country that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attain- " ment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish " nation in parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate " necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will " endeavour as much as lies in my ability to forward a brotherhood " of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights and " an union of power among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, " without which every reform in parliament must be partial, not " national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and " insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country."

No. III.

Paper-writing taken by a Magistrate in a distant Part of the County of Antrim.

Minutes of the County Proceedings.

	Men.	Guns.	Pist.	Pks.	Balls.	Powder.
U. B.	1500	191	5	700	3000	7
Town do.	2639	526	88	567	28083	569
L. B.	1088	197	24	60	1550	12
U. A.	1801	200	—	435 Bay	160	
L. A.	1800	105	—	113		
U. M.	1540	30	11	40		
U. T.	1844	239	14	65		
L. T.	2074	361	24		2074	
U. D.	2000	300			3000	
L. D.	1521	30	10			13
U. G.	722	156	19	42		27
L. G.	950	20	10	6		
K.	392	42				
C.	1030	62				
Total --	22039	2659	205	2848	42520	628½

Cannon, eight 6 pounders.

T. B. 12l. 13s. 8½d. U. B. 12l. 7s. 4d. L. B. 18s. —½d. U. A. 3l. 5s. 11d. L. A. 2l. 6s. 2s. L. M. U. M. 1l. 15s. 6d. U. T. 8l. 17s 8d. L. T. —. L. D. 2l. 9s. 6d. L. D. U. G. L. G. K. 10s. C. 1l. 14s. 1½. Total paid in, 461 8s. 4d.

C. Antrim 20942. D. 15000. Derry 10000 T. 6600 Ar. 4000 M. 3200. Don[l]. 5088. Cavin 1000. Meath 1776. Fer. 2000. Louth 2600.—Total, 72206. An. 781. 6s. 8d. D. 40l. Derry 8l. 5s. 9d. Ar. 7l. 8s. 5d. Don. 9l. 9s. 7d. Total 144l. 2s. 1½d. Caſh paid to Antrim Priſioners 78l. 6s. 8d. D. 11l. 7s. 6d. Ty. 7l. 19s. 3d. Delegates 2l. 5s. 6d. Total 99l. 18s. 11d. Ball[ee] 44l. 3s. 2½d.

Provincial Returns.

Countys formed into a noth[r]. P. C. viz. Weſt[th]. Killd[r]. Dub. Co. D. D. Cy. above Co. are organ[d]. D. dowing well, D. Cy. divided into 4. Diſt. yr. Ex[ve]. give no other report then the organ[g]. of the above not having latly met a report to be given from P. Com[te]. next meeting. Newry citz. have been very gen[rs]. their privets ſubſcrip[n]. are 21. 11. 0. beſides large vol[y]. ſub[ers] to their Co. have employ'd dell[ts] to go to Cavan and Letrim Cos. are formed and doing will, expence 17s. Cap. St. Legar of 24 dragoons confind in Ar. jail for Ex[ve]. com. D. Ball. ſent to him to

diſtribute a wife and 4 chil[n]. pay taken from him. When Co. expences are pd. Ball are to go to the P. Com[te]. a number of men taken from Co. Tyrone was Co. mem[rs]. Total 25. 7gs. for their ſupport voted, and they promiſe reſtit[n]. next month. The Kilrea buſineſs to be recommended to the P. Com[tee]. for the opinion. Mr. Briſtow of B. knows our provinc[l]. meetings too well. Armagh appointed a com[tee] of 5 to take care of their priſioners. Co. Mon. have caſh in hand. Co. D. 50 conſt. from T. of Newry and collecting mony faſt wh. will ſhortly be pd. in D. forwarding the buſineſs to Meath and Killdear, 15 conſt[ns]. ſent to do. place. The Co. Ant. at this time is deffice[t]. in their ſubſcrip[n]. Co. Down pays 90l. m. to the pris[rs]. and to the P. Com[te]. The priſioners in Carick 29 are paid 1 guin. each for 2 laſt months. 2 G. Coats by a Mrs. M'Clellan to poor fol[d]. and 9 guis. to 9 of pooreſt ſort.

U. Iriſhmen are warned not to cut timber that does not belong to themſelves on any acc^{t}. for if the be proſecuted for the ſame they will not meet with any ſupport whatever, as it brings a reproach on the cauſe. They are alſo warned agst. partial inſurrections of every kind, but to be obedient to the preſent laws by a prudent and ſober conduct, for by preſevering in union we will at length work our own freedom in ſpite of all oppoſition. As ſoon as the South is properly organ^{d}. a National Convention will be eſtabliſhed, which is expected ſoon to take place.

Equal Liberty and Juſtic is the Equality only to be ſought by us.

No. IV.

Paper-writing taken near Portaferry, in the County of Down, on or about 8th November, 1796.

At a Baronial Meeting, October 22d, the County and Provincial Returns, &c.

Lower Caſtlereigh -	3020
Upper Caſtlereigh -	1098
Kilnarty - - -	1299
Differin - - - -	570
Ards - - - - -	2475
Upper Iveigh - -	1165
Lower Iveigh - -	1327
Lecale - - - -	62
Down -	11016

Caſh received 22l. 3s. 2d. paid of that - - £. 3 8 3

— 16 5

Voted for the relief of the Priſoners - 14 15 9

19 — 5

3 2 9

Provincial Returns as follows:

Antrim - - -	1500	£.	47	15	6
Derry - - -	3696				
Tyrone - - -	4355		13	1	7
	34067	20	9	6	Down Sepr. caſh
		11	2	6	In Treasrs. hands
		5	6	1	Rems. in Province
		97	14	8	The whole of which was voted to the Executive Committee.

Reports in the following Places:

Donegal - -	2000	
Armagh - -	1000	
Louth - -	1600	
Monaghan -	1000	
Cork - -	1600	
Meath, Weſtmeath, Kildare, Dublin	16000	
Total	57267	

Reſolved on the following word and ſign: the under button of the waiſtcoat to be taken out with the right hand, ſaying "See."

Anſwer. Take out two under buttons with left hand, ſaying "What."

Report of the Select Committee, Reſolutions, &c.

Reſolved, that one committee for this county be ſufficient; one Delegate to be ſent from each diviſion of baronies.

Reſolved, that it is recommended to the different ſocieties to enter into liberal ſubſcriptions, for by the monthly ſubſcriptions for the relief of our friends priſoners in this county gaol, as a ſafe communication is found thereto.

Reſolved, that it is recommended to the diviſions of baronies, ſocietys, &c. to form themſelves into military bodies, and chuſe their own officers.

Reſolved, that at this very alarming period of proſcription by tyrants, we ſhould more than ever perſevere in forwarding that brotherhood of affection we ſo ſolemnly pledged ourſelves to, and to be punctual in paying finance, viz. one penny each member per month.

Communications. Four new ſocieties organized in Scotland; eight more conſtitutions left; formed a baronial committee. County Kerry militia required one hundred conſtitutions for their own uſe; a few conſtitutions in Downſhire, and a good many united.

Moved and ſeconded, that thirteen guineas of this county money received to-day be given to our county ſecretary, to be paid to the relief of our friends priſoners, according to their different neceſſities.

Moved and ſeconded, for inſtructions to provincial delegates to move at their firſt committee that the Provincial Executive Committee do be empowered to carry on the trials of all our friends in the different counties who are there proſecuted.

As ſoon as our friends arrived in Dublin there was a deputation came to Belfaſt to know if they ſhould be liberated, as they had it in their power.

Report of a ſmuggler out; if ſhe arrive ſafe there will be plenty of

Adjourned until in at the houſe of at the hour of ten o'clock.

No. V.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox, No. 4.

" I, A. B. do voluntarily ſwear that I will not call upon this " ſociety but when regularly called upon by my ſuperior officers, " and that I will be true and honeſt to the men under my com- " mand."

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox, No. 6.

" I, A. B. do voluntarily ſwear that I will turn out when regu- " larly called on by my officers, and that I will obey them in all " that is lawful, and not otherwiſe."

No. III.

Report from the Secret Committee of the House of Lords in 1797.

My Lords,

THE Lords Committees appointed to examine the matters of the ſealed-up papers received from the Houſe of Commons the 4th inſtant, and to report the ſame as they ſhould appear to them to the Houſe, having carefully examined the papers referred to them, and compared the ſaid papers with the report made by the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons; and having received and inveſtigated ſuch farther evidence as they thought in prudence they were called upon to examine, have come to an unamous reſolution immediately to report to your Lordſhips, that they are fully ſatisfied and convinced, from the evidence laid before them, that a traitorous and alarming conſpiracy has been formed, and that ſundry acts have been done in purſuance thereof by certain affiliated ſocieties and perſons in different parts of this kingdom, calling themſelves United Iriſhmen, for the ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed laws and conſtitution, and the introduction of a ſyſtem of anarchy, plunder, and confuſion, ſimilar to that which has fatally prevailed in France.

Your Committee think it neceſſary farther to report to your Lordſhips, that it has appeared diſtinctly to them that ſuch a ſyſtem was the firſt and fundamental object of theſe ſocieties at their original inſtitution in the Summer of the year 1791, and that the attainment of what are called Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation were and continue to be held out by them merely as a pretence for their aſſociations, and with a view to ſeduce perſons who were not apprized of their traitorous deſigns to unite with them. It has appeared to your Committee that theſe aſſociations have gradually multiplied, and are now extended in a very alarming degree; that their members are bound to each other by oaths of ſecrecy, and appear to be firmly united in a general compact to ſubvert the monarchy, and to eſtabliſh a republican government in Ireland: to effect this object, it has appeared clearly to your Committee that meaſures have been adopted by them, and are ſtill continued for procuring arms and ammunition, to be diſtributed amongſt the accomplices in this conſpiracy, for effectuating by open force their purpoſes, and particularly that pikes in very conſiderable numbers have been procured by them; and it has appeared clearly that they look to force only, for that they have unequivocally avowed their hoſtility to the Parliament, and to all members of whom it is compoſed, without diſtinction or exception. It has farther appeared to your Committee, that the leaders and

directors of these associations are now, and have been for some time past, anxiously engaged in uniting with them a class of men who had formerly disturbed the peace of this country by acts of outrage, robbery, and murder, under the appellation of Defenders, and your Committee have reason to apprehend that in a certain degree they have succeeded.

Your Committee having carefully examined the report made by the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, which your Lordships have referred to them, find that it is fully supported by the evidence which has been investigated by your Committee, and therefore they have forborne to enter into the detail contained in the said report, which otherwise they should have thought it necessary to lay before your Lordships; but they beg leave to refer your Lordships to the said report, which will be found to contain facts of a most interesting and important nature, and deserving your Lordships most serious consideration. And in addition to the facts contained in the said report your Committee think it necessary to state to your Lordships, that it has appeared distinctly and unequivocally to them that a traitorous correspondence and communication has been carried on between the leaders and directors of the societies of United Irishmen and the Executive Directory of the French Republic; the period at which this correspondence was proved to have taken place has appeared to your Committee to have been between the month of June 1795 and the month of January 1796, and the means by which it was carried on in that instance have been fully proved before your Committee; and it has also appeared to your Committee, that in the event of success on the part of these conspirators it has been decided, that all persons who from their principles or situation may be deemed inimical to the conspiracy shall be massacred; the first proscribed list it has appeared to your Committee has been calculated by one of their leaders at thirty thousand persons.

Under circumstances so novel and alarming, your Committee submit to your Lordships the expediency of their being empowered to make farther inquiries, and to receive such communications as may be made to them by order of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, or by the Committee of Secrecy appointed by the House of Commons, whose zeal and assiduity in concert with your Lordship cannot fail, we trust, in detecting this scene of iniquity, and thereby averting the calamities in which the farther progress of such a conspiracy must necessarily involve this happy and prosperous nation.

No. IV.

The following Paper was circulated in Dublin in the Month of June 1791, *and contains the original Design of that Aſſociation which was inſtituted in the Month of December following, under the Name of The* SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN.

IDEM SENTIRE, DICERE, AGERE.

IT is propoſed, that at this conjecture a SOCIETY ſhall be inſtituted in this city, having much of the ſecrecy, and ſomewhat of the ceremonial attached to Free-maſonry; with ſo much ſecrecy as may communicate curioſity, uncertainty, and expectation, to the minds of ſurrounding men; with ſo much impreſſive and affecting ceremony in all its internal economy, as without impeding real buſineſs, may ſtrike the ſoul through the ſenſes, and addreſſing the *whole* Man, may animate his philoſophy by the energy of his paſſions.

Secrecy is expedient and neceſſary; it will make the bond of union more coheſive, and the ſpirit of this union more ardent and more condenſed; it will envelope this denſe flame with a cloud of gloomy ambiguity, that will not only facilitate its own agency, but will at the ſame time confound and terrify its enemies by their ignorance of the deſign, the extent, the direction, or the conſequences. It will throw a veil over thoſe individuals whoſe profeſſional prudence might make them wiſh to lye concealed, until a manifeſtation of themſelves became abſolutely neceſſary. And laſtly, ſecrecy is neceſſary, becauſe it is by no means certain that a country ſo great a ſtranger to itſelf as Ireland, where the North and the South, and the Eaſt and the Weſt, meet to wonder at each other, is yet *prepared* for the adoption of one profeſſion of Political Faith, while there may be individuals from each of theſe quarters ready to adopt ſuch a profeſſion, and to propagate it with their beſt abilities, when neceſſary—with their Blood.

Our Provinces are perfectly ignorant of each other;—our Iſland is connected; we ourſelves are inſulated; and the diſtinctions of rank, of property, and of religious perſuaſion, have hitherto been not merely lines of difference, but brazen walls of ſeparation. We are ſeparate nations met and ſettled together, not mingled, but *convened*; an incoherent maſs of diſſimilar materials, uncemented, unconſolidated, like the image which Nebuchadnezar ſaw with a head of fine gold, legs of iron, and feet of clay, parts that do not cleave to one another.

In the midſt of an iſland, where Manhood has met and continues to meet with ſuch ſevere humiliation, where ſelfiſh men, or claſſes of men, have formed ſuch malignant conſpiracy againſt Public

Good, let one benevolent, beneficent conſpiracy ariſe, one Plot of Patriots pledged by ſolemn adjuration to each other in the ſervice of the People—the PEOPLE, in the largeſt ſenſe of that momentous word. Let the cement of this Conſtitutional Compact be a principle of ſuch ſtrong attraction, as completely to overpower all accidental and temporary repulſions that take place between real Iriſhmen, and thus to conſolidate the ſcattered and ſhifting ſand of Society into an adheſive and immoveable Caiſſon, ſunk beneath the dark and troubled waters. It is by wandering from the few plain and ſimple principles of Political Faith that our Politics, like our Religion, has become Preaching, not Practice, Words, not Works.

A Society, ſuch as this, will diſclaim thoſe party appellations which ſeem to pale the human heart into petty compartments and parcel out into Sects and Sections, Common Senſe, Common Honeſty, and Common Weal. As little will it affect any ſpeculative, unimpaſſioned, quieſcent benevolence. It will not call itſelf a Whig Club, or a Revolution Society. It will not ground itſelf on a name indicative of a party, or an event well enough in the circumſtances and in the ſeaſon. It will not be an Ariſtocracy affecting the language of Patriotiſm, the rival of Deſpotiſm, for its own ſake, not its irreconcileable enemy, for the ſake of *us all*.

It will not, by views merely retroſpective, ſtop the march of mankind, or force them back into the lanes and alleys of their anceſtors. It will have an eye provident and proſpective, a reach and amplitude of conception commenſurate to the progreſſive diffuſion of knowledge, and at the ſame time a promptitude in execution requiſite in a life like this, ſo ſhort and ſo fragile, in a nation like this, ſo paſſive and ſo procraſtinating. Let its name be the IRISH BROTHERHOOD. Let its general aim be to make the light of philanthropy, a pale and ineffectual light, *converge*, and by converging kindle into ardent, energic, enthuſiaſtic love for Ireland; that genuine unadulterated enthuſiaſm which deſcends from a luminous head to a burning heart, and impels the ſpirit of man to exertions greatly good, or unequivocally great. For this Society is not to reſt ſatisfied in drawing ſpeculative plans of reform and improvement, but to be practically buſied about the *means* of accompliſhment. Were the hand of Locke to hold from Heaven a ſcheme of government moſt perfectly adapted to the nature and capabilities of the Iriſh nation, it would drop to the ground a mere ſounding ſcroll, were there no other means of giving it effect than its intrinſic excellence. All true Iriſhmen agree in *what* ought to be done, but how to get it done is the queſtion. This Society is likely to be a means the moſt powerful for the promotion of a great end—what END?

THE RIGHTS OF MEN IN IRELAND, the greateſt happineſs of the greateſt number in *this iſland*, the inherent and indefeaſible

claims of every free nation, to reſt in this nation---the *will* and the *power* to be happy---to purſue the Common Weal as an individual purſues his private welfare, and to ſtand in inſulated independence, an imperatorial People. To gain a knowledge of the real ſtate of this heterogeneous country, to form a ſummary of the national will and pleaſure in points moſt intereſting to national happineſs, and when ſuch a ſummary is formed, to put this *Doctrine* as ſpeedily as may be into *Practice*, will be the purpoſe of this central ſociety, or lodge, from which other lodges in the different towns will radiate.

THE GREATEST HAPPINESS OF THE GREATEST NUMBER---On the rock of this principle let this Society reſt; by this let it judge and determine every political queſtion, and whatever is neceſſary for this end, let it not be accounted hazardous, but rather our intereſt, our duty, our glory, and our common religion. The rights of Men are the rights of God, and to vindicate the one is to maintain the other. We muſt be free in order to ſerve him whoſe ſervice is perfect freedom.

Let every Member wear, day and night, an Amulet round his neck, containing the great principle which unites the Brotherhood. in letters of gold, on a ribbon, ſtriped with all the original colours, and incloſed in a ſheath of white ſilk, to repreſent the pure union of the mingled rays, and the abolition of all ſuperficial diſtinctions, all colours and ſhades of difference, for the ſake of one illuſtrious end. Let this Amulet of Union, faith and honour, depend from the neck, and be bound about the body next to the ſkin and cloſe to the heart.

This is enthuſiaſm.---It is ſo; and who that has a ſpark of Hiberniciſm in his nature, would not feel it kindle into a flame of generous enthuſiaſm? Who, that has a drop of ſympathy in his heart, when he looks around him, and ſees how happineſs is heaped up in mounds, and how miſery is diffuſed and divided among the million, does not exclaim, Alas! for the ſuffering, and Oh! for the power to redreſs it? and who is there that has enthuſiaſm ſufficient to make an exclamation, would not combine with others as honeſt as himſelf to make the will live in the act, and to ſwear,---WE WILL REDRESS IT---Who is there? Who?

The firſt buſineſs of the Brotherhood will be to form a tranſcript, or digeſt, of the doctrine which they mean to ſubſcribe, to uphold, to propagate, and reduce to practice. It is time for Ireland to look her fortune in the face, not with turbulent oſtentation, but with fixed reſolution to live and die Freemen. Let then thoſe queſtions be agitated and anſwered fully and fairly which have been wilfully concealed from us by intereſted perſons and parties, and which appear terrible only by being kept in the dark. Always armed with this principle, that it is the duty of the people to eſtabliſh their rights, this Society will carry it along with them in their

courſe, as the Sybil did the branch of gold, to avert or to diſperſe every vain fear and every unreal terror.

What are the *means* of procuring ſuch a reform in the conſtitution as may ſecure to the people their rights moſt effectually and moſt ſpeedily?

What is the plan of reform moſt ſuited to this country?

Can the renovation in the conſtitution, which we all deem neceſſary, be accomplished by the *ways* of the conſtitution? "The "evil," ſays Junius, "lies too deep to be cured by any remedy, "leſs than ſome great convulſion which may bring back the con-"ſtitution to its original principles, or utterly deſtroy it." Is this opinion ſtill truer when applied to *this* country? or is it falſe?

Who are the People?

Can the right of changing the conſtitution reſt any where but in the original conſtitutive power---the People?

Can the will of the People be known but by full and fair convention, to be conſtituted on the plan which will come recommended on the moſt popular authority?

What are the rights of Roman Catholics, and what are the immediate duties of Proteſtants reſpecting theſe rights?

Are the Roman Catholics generally or partially *capaces Libertatis?* and if not, What are the ſpeedieſt means of making them ſo.

Is the independence of Ireland nominal or real, a barren right, or a fact regulative of national conduct and influencing national character?

Has it had any other effect than raiſing the value of a houſe, and making it more ſelf-ſufficient, at the expence of the People?

Is there any middle ſtate between the extremes of union with Britain and total ſeparation, in which the rights of the People can be fully eſtabliſhed and reſt in ſecurity?

What is the form of government that will ſecure to us our rights with the leaſt expence and the greateſt benefit?

By the BROTHERHOOD are theſe queſtions, and ſuch as theſe, to be determined. On this determination are they to form the chart of their conſtitution, which with honour and good faith they are to ſubſcribe, and which is to regulate their courſe.---Let the Society at large meet four times in the year, and an acting Committee once a month, to which all Members ſhall be invited. Let theſe meetings be *convivial*, but not the tranſitory patriotiſm of deep potation; *confidential*, the heart open and the door locked; *converſational*, not a debating ſociety. There is too much haranguing in this country already: a very great redundance of ſound. Would that we ſpoke a little more laconically, and acted a little more emphatically; and we ſhall do ſo, when our aim is at ſomething nobler and fairer than even the ſublime and beautiful of Mr.

Burke:---the ſublimity of Common-ſenſe---the beauty of Common-weal.

Our Society ſhould at firſt be very chaſte and cautious in the ſelection of Members, ſhunning equally the giddineſs of the boy, and that ſullen indifference about the public good which comes on with decline of years, looking around for thoſe that are competent, and with reſpect to themſelves content, yet zealous and perſevering; not venal, not voracious, not confined in their manners and their morality to the pale of a profeſſion, not idle philanthropiſts, who figet round the globe with their favourite adage; not thoſe who are bound down by obedience to that wizard word *Empire*, to the ſovereignity of two ſounding ſyllables; but honeſt, honourable *Iriſhmen*, of whatever rank, of whatever religion, who know Liberty, who love it, who wiſh to have it, and who will have it.---Members ſhould be admitted only by an unanimous ballot, and perhaps once a year there ſhould be a general re-election.

The *external* buſineſs of this Society will be, 1ſt, Publication, in order to propagate their principles and effectuate their ends. All papers for this purpoſe to be ſanctioned by the Committee, and publiſhed with no other deſignation of character than---ONE OF THE BROTHERHOOD. 2dly, Communication with the different towns to be aſſiduouſly kept up, and every exertion uſed to accompliſh a *National Convention* of the People of Ireland, who may profit by paſt errors, and by many unexpected circumſtances which have happened ſince the laſt meeting. 3dly, Communication with ſimilar Societies abroad, as the Jacobin Club in Paris, the Revolution Society in England, the Committee for Reform in Scotland. Let the nations go abreaſt. Let the interchange of ſentiment among mankind concerning the rights of man be as immediate as poſſible. A correſpondence with diſtinguiſhed men in Britain, or on the Continent, will be neceſſary to enlighten us, and ought to be cheriſhed. Eulogies on ſuch men as have deſerved well of their country *until death*, ſhould be from time to time delivered by one of the Brotherhood, their works ſhould live in a Library to be formed by this Society, and dedicated to Liberty, and the Portraits of ſuch men ſhould adorn it. Let the ſhades of the mighty dead look down and conſecrate our meetings. The Athenians were accuſtomed to faſten their edicts to the ſtatues of their anceſtors. Let our Laws and Liberties have a ſimilar attachment, taking heed always to remember what has been always too much forgotton---that *We* are to be anceſtors ourſelves; and as our bodies moulder down after ſepulture, merely to paſs into new forms of life, let our ſpirits preſerve a principle of animation to poſterity, and germinate from the very grave.

What is the time moſt applicable for the eſtabliſhment of this Inſtitution? Even NOW. "Le grand art eſt dans l'apropos."

Why is Adminiſtration ſo imperious? Becauſe the nation does not act. The Whig Club is not a transfuſion from the People. We do not thoroughly *underſtand* that Club, and they do not *feel* for us. When the Ariſtocracy come foward, the People fall backward; when the People come forward, the Ariſtocracy, fearful of being left behind, inſinuate themſelves into our ranks, and riſe into timid leaders, or treacherous auxiliaries. They mean to make us their inſtruments. Let us rather make them *our* inſtruments. One of the two muſt happen. The People muſt ſerve the purpoſes of Party, or the party muſt emerge in the mightineſs of the People, and Hercules will then lean upon his club.

On the 14th of July, the day which ſhall ever commemorate the French Revolution, let this Society pour out their firſt libation to European Liberty, eventually the Liberty of the World, and with their hands joined in each other, and their eyes raiſed to Heaven, in his preſence who breathed into them an ever-living ſoul, let them ſwear to maintain their rights and prerogatives of their nature as men, and the right and prerogative of Ireland as an Independent People.---"Dieu et *mon* Droit!" is the motto of kings. "Dieu et la Liberte!" exclaimed Voltaire, when he firſt beheld Franklin his Fellow-Citizen of the World. "Dieu et *nos* Droits!"---Let Iriſhmen cry aloud to each other. The cry of Mercy---of Juſtice---and of Victory.

June 1791.

No. V.

Extracts from the Publications of United Iriſhmen.

Friday, 30th December, 1791.

Society of United Iriſhmen of Dublin. The Honourable Simon Butler in the Chair.

Reſolved unanimouſly, that the following Circular Letter, reported by our Committee of Correſpondence, be adopted and printed.

THIS letter is addreſſed to you from the Correſponding Committee of the Society of United Iriſhmen in Dublin.

We annex the declaration of political principles which we have ſubſcribed, and the teſt which we have taken, as a ſocial and ſacred compact to bind us more cloſely together.

The object of this inſtitution is to make an United Society of the Iriſh Nation; to make all Iriſhmen—Citizens; all Citizens—Iriſhmen; nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this criſis of Europe more ſeaſonable, than that thoſe who have common intereſts, and common enemies, who ſuffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common rights, ſhould know each other, and ſhould act together. In our opinion, ignorance has been the demon of diſcord, which has ſo long deprived Iriſhmen, not only of the bleſſings of well regulated government, but even the common benefits of civil ſociety. Peace in this iſland has hitherto been a peace on the principles, and with the conſequences, of civil war. For a century paſt there has indeed been tranquillity, but to moſt of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquillity of a dungeon; and if the land has lately proſpered, it has been owing to the goodneſs of Providence, and the ſtrong efforts of human nature reſiſting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miſerable adminiſtration.

To reſiſt this influence, which rules by diſcord and embroils by ſyſtem, it is vain to act as individuals or as parties: it becomes neceſſary by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other to will and act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourſelves—the weakneſs of one and the ſtrength of many. Union, therefore, is power—it is wiſdom—it muſt prove liberty.

Our deſign, therefore, in forming this ſociety, is to give an example, which, when well followed, muſt collect the public will, and concentrate the public power into one ſolid maſs, the effect of which, once put in motion, muſt be rapid, momentous, and conſequential.

In thus associating we have thought little about our ancestors—much of our posterity. Are we for ever to walk like beasts of prey, over fields which these ancestors stained with blood? In looking back, we see nothing on the one part but savage force succeeded by savage policy; on the other, an unfortunate nation "scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down!" We see a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the first moral emotions of the heart, which lead us to esteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We see this, and are silent. But we gladly look forward to brighter prospects—to a People united in the fellowship of freedom—to a Parliament the express image of the people—to a prosperity established on civil, political, and religious liberty—to a peace—not the gloomy and precarious stillness of men brooding over their wrongs, but that stable tranquillity which rests on the rights of human nature, and leans on the arms by which these rights are to be maintained.

Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to those things in which we agree, to exclude from our thoughts those in which we differ. We agree in knowing what are our rights, and in daring to assert them. If the rights of men be duties to God, we are in this respect of one religion. Our creed of civil faith is the same. We agree in thinking that there is not an individual among our millions, whose happiness can be established on any foundation so rational and so solid, as on the happiness of the whole community. We agree, therefore, in the necessity of giving political value and station to the great majority of the people; and we think that whoever desires an amended constitution, without including the great body of the people, must on his own principles be convicted of political persecution and political monopoly. If the present electors be themselves a morbid part of our constitution, where are we to recur for redress but to whole community? "A more unjust and absurd constitution cannot be devised, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves."

We agree in thinking, that the first and most indispensable condition of the laws in a free state is, the assent of those whose obedience they require, and for whose benefit only they are designed. Without, therefore, an impartial and adequate representation of the community, we agree in declaring, We can have no constitution—no Country—no Ireland. Without this, our late revolution, we declare to be fallacious and ideal; a thing much talked of but neither felt nor seen. The act of Irish Sovereignty has been merely tossed out of the English Houses into the cabinet of the Minister; and nothing remains to the people, who of right are every thing, but a servile Majesty and a ragged independence.

We call most earnestly on every great and good man, who at the late æra spoke or acted for his country, to consider less of

what was done than of what there remains to do. We call upon their ſenatorial wiſdom to conſider the monſtrous and immeaſurable diſtance which ſeparates, in this iſland, the ranks of ſocial life, makes labour ineffectual, taxation unproductive, and divides the nation into petty deſpotiſm and public miſery. We call upon their tutelar genius to remember, that government is inſtituted to remedy, not to render more grievous, the natural inequality of mankind; and that unleſs the rights of the whole community be aſſerted, anarchy (we cannot call it government) muſt continue to prevail, when the ſtrong tyrannize, the rich oppreſs, and the maſs are brayed in a mortar. We call upon them, therefore, to build their arguments and their actions on the broad platform of general good.

Let not the rights of nature be enjoyed merely by connivance, and the rights of conſcience merely by toleration. If you raiſe up a prone people, let it not be merely to their knees. Let the nation ſtand. Then will it caſt away the bad habit of ſervitude, which has brought with it indolence, ignorance, an extinction of our faculties, an abandonment of our very nature. Then will every right obtained, every franchiſe exerciſed, prove a ſeed of ſobriety, induſtry, and regard to character, and the manners of the people will be formed on the model of their free conſtitution.

This rapid expoſition of our principles, our object, and our rule of conduct, muſt naturally ſuggeſt the wiſh of multiplying ſimilar ſocieties, and the propriety of addreſſing ſuch a deſire to you. Is it neceſſary for us to requeſt, that you will hold out your hand, and open your heart to your countryman, townſman, neighbour? Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by political penalties, or civil excommunications, withhold the rights of nature from your brother? We beſeech you to rally all the friends of liberty within your circle round a ſociety of this kind as a centre. Draw together your beſt and braveſt thoughts, your beſt and braveſt men. You will experience, as we have done, that theſe points of union will quickly attract numbers, while the aſſemblage of ſuch ſocieties, acting in concert, moving as one body, with one impulſe and one direction, will, in no long time, become not parts of the nation, but the nation itſelf; ſpeaking with its voice, expreſſing its will, reſiſtleſs in its power. We again entreat you to look around for men fit to form thoſe ſtable ſupports on which Ireland may reſt the Lever of Liberty. If there be but ten, take thoſe ten. If there be but two, take thoſe two, and truſt with confidence to the ſincerity of your intention, the juſtice of your cauſe, and the ſupport of your country.

Two objects intereſt the nation—A plan of repreſentation—and the means of accompliſhing it. Theſe ſocieties will be a moſt powerful means. But a popular plan would itſelf be a means for its own accompliſhment. We have, therefore, to requeſt, that

you will favour us with your ideas reſpecting the plan which appears to you moſt eligible and practicable, on the preſent more enlarged and liberal principles which actuate the people; at the ſame time giving your ſentiments upon our National Coalition, on the means of promoting it, and on the political ſtate and diſpoſition of the county or town where you reſide. We know what reſiſtance will be made to your patriotic efforts by thoſe who triumph in the diſunion and degradation of their country. The greater the neceſſity for reform, the greater probably will be the reſiſtance. We know that there is much ſpirit that requires being brought into maſs, as well as much maſſy body that muſt be refined into ſpirit. We have many enemies, and no enemy is contemptible. We do not deſpiſe the enemies of the Union, the Liberty and the Peace of Ireland; but we are not of a nature, nor have we encouraged the habit of fearing any man, or any body of men, in an honeſt and honourable cauſe. In great undertakings, like the preſent, we declare, that we have found it always more difficult to attempt than to accompliſh. The people of Ireland muſt perform all that they wiſh, if they attempt all that they can.

Signed by Order,
JAMES NAPPER TANDY, *Sec.*

November 23, 1792.

Addreſs from the Society of United Iriſhmen in Dublin to the Delegates for promoting a Reform in Scotland.

William Drennan, Chairman.

Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Secretary.

WE take the liberty of addreſſing you in the ſpirit of civil union, in the fellowſhip of a juſt and common cauſe. We greatly rejoice that the ſpirit of freedom moves over the face of Scotland; that light ſeems to break from the chaos of her internal government; and that a country ſo reſpectable for her attainments in ſcience, in arts and in arms, for men of literary eminence, for the intelligence and morality of her people, now acts from a conviction of the union between virtue, letters, and liberty, and now riſes to diſtinction, not by a calm, contented, ſecret wiſh for a reform in Parliament, but by openly, actively, and urgently *willing* it, with the unity and energy of an embodied nation. We rejoice that you do not conſider yourſelves as merged and melted down into another country, but that in this great national queſtion you are

ſtill Scotland——the land where Buchanan wrote, and Fletcher ſpoke, and Wallace fought.

Away from us and from our children thoſe puerile antipathies ſo unworthy of the manhood of nations, which inſulate individuals as well as countries, and drive the citizen back to the ſavage. We eſteem and we reſpect you. We pay merited honour to a nation in general well educated and well informed, becauſe we know that the ignorance of the people is the cauſe and effect of all civil and religious deſpotiſm. We honour a nation regular in their lives and ſtrict in their manners, becauſe we conceive private morality to be the only ſecure foundation of public policy. We honour a nation eminent for men of genius, and we truſt that they will now exert themſelves not ſo much in peruſing and penning the hiſtories of other countries as in making their own a ſubject for the hiſtorian. May we venture to obſerve to them that mankind have been too retroſpective, canonized antiquity and undervalued themſelves. Man has repoſed on ruins, and reſted his head on ſome fragments of the temple of liberty, or at moſt amuſed himſelf in pacing the meaſurement of the edifice, and nicely limiting its proportions; not reflecting that this temple is truly Catholic, the ample earth its area, and the arch of heaven its dome.

We will lay open to you our hearts;---our cauſe is your cauſe. If there is to be a ſtruggle between us, let it be which nation ſhall be foremoſt in the race of mind; let this be the noble animoſity kindled between us, who ſhall firſt attain that free conſtitution from which both are equidiſtant, who ſhall firſt be the ſaviour of the empire.

In this SOCIETY and its affiliated ſocieties the Catholic and the Preſbyterian are at this inſtant holding out their hands and opening their hearts to each other; agreeing in principles, concurring in practice. We unite for immediate, ample and ſubſtantial juſtice to the Catholics, and when that is attained, a combined exertion for a reform in parliament is the condition of our compact and the ſeal of our communion.

Univerſal emancipation with repreſentative legiſlature is the polar principle which guides our ſociety, and ſhall guide it through all the tumult of factions and fluctuations of parties. It is not upon a coalition of oppoſition with miniſtry that we depend, but upon a coalition of Iriſhmen with Iriſhmen, and in that coalition alone we find an object worthy of reform, and at the ſame time the ſtrength and ſinew both to attain and ſecure it. It is not upon external circumſtances, upon the pledge of man or miniſter, we depend, but upon the internal energy of the Iriſh nation. We will not buy or borrow liberty from America or from France, but manufacture it ourſelves, and work it up with thoſe materials which the hearts of Iriſhmen furniſh them with at home. We do not worſhip the Britiſh, far leſs the Iriſh conſtitution, as ſent down from Heaven,

but we conſider it as human workmanſhip, which man has made and man can mend. An unalterable conſtitution, whatever be its nature, muſt be deſpotiſm. It is not the conſtitution but the people which ought to be inviolable, and it is time to recognize and renovate the rights of the Engliſh, the Scotch, and the Iriſh Nations.---Rights which can neither be bought nor ſold, granted by charter, or foreſtalled by monopoly, but which nature dictates as the birth-right of all, and which it is the buſineſs of a conſtitution to define, to enforce, and to eſtabliſh. If government has a ſincere regard for the ſafety of the conſtitution, let them coincide with the people in the ſpeedy reform of its abuſes, and not by an obſtinate adherence to them, drive that people into republicaniſm.

We have told you what our ſituation was, what it is, what it ought to be: our end, a national legiſlature; our means, an union of the whole people. Let this union extend throughout the empire. Let all unite for all, or each man ſuffer for all. In each country let the people aſſemble in peaceful and conſtitutional convention. Let delegates from each country digeſt a plan of reform, beſt adopted to the ſituation and circumſtances of their reſpective nations, and let the legiſlatures be petitioned at once by the urgent and unanimous voice of England, Scotland and Ireland.

You have our ideas. Anſwer us, and that quickly. This is not a time to procraſtinate. Your illuſtrious Fletcher has ſaid that the liberties of a people are not to be ſecured, without paſſing through great difficulties, and no toil or labours ought to be declined to preſerve a nation from ſlavery. He ſpoke well: and we add, that it is incumbent on every nation who adventures into a conflict for freedom, to remember it is on the event (however abſurdly) depends the eſtimation of public opinion; honour and immortality, if fortunate; if otherwiſe, infamy and oblivion. Let this check the raſhneſs that ruſhes unadviſedly into the committal of national character, or *if that be already made*, let the ſame confideration impel us all to advance with active, not paſſive perſeverance, with manly confidence and calm determination, ſmiling with equal ſcorn at the bluſter of official arrogance, and the whiſper of private malevolence, *until we have planted the flag of freedom on the ſummit, and are at once victorious and ſecure.*

December 14, 1792.

Society of United Iriſhmen, at Dublin, to the Volunteers of Ireland.

William Drennan, Chairman.

Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Secretary.

Citizens Soldiers,

YOU firſt took up arms to protect your country from foreign enemies, and from domeſtic diſturbance. For the ſame purpoſes, it now

becomes neceſſary that you ſhould reſume them. A proclamation has been iſſued in England for embodying the militia, and a proclamation has been iſſued by the Lord Lieutenant and Council in Ireland, for repreſſing all *ſeditious* aſſociations. In conſequence of both theſe proclamations, it is reaſonable to apprehend danger from abroad, and danger at home. From whence but from apprehended danger are thoſe menacing preparations for war drawn through the ſtreets of this capital, or whence, if not to *create* that internal commotion which was not *found*, to ſhake that credit which was not *affected*, to blaſt that Volunteer honour which was hitherto *inviolate*, are thoſe terrible ſuggeſtions and rumours and whiſpers, that meet us at every corner and agitate at leaſt our old men, our women and children. Whatever be the motive, or from whatever quarter it ariſes, alarm has ariſen, and you, VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, are therefore ſummoned *To Arms* at the inſtance of Government, as well as by the reſponſibility attached to your character, and the permanent obligations of your inſtitution. We will not at this day, condeſcend to quote authorities for the *right* of having and of uſing arms, but we will cry aloud, even amidſt the ſtorm raiſed by the witchcraft of a proclamation, That to your *formation* was owing the peace and protection of this Iſland, to your *relaxation* has been owing its relapſe into impotence and inſignificance, to your *renovation* muſt be owing its future freedom and its preſent tranquillity. You are therefore ſummoned to Arms, in order to preſerve your country in that guarded quiet, which may ſecure it from external hoſtility, and to maintain that internal regimen throughout the land, which ſuperſeding a notorious police or a ſuſpected militia, may preſerve the bleſſings of peace by a vigilant preparation for war.

Citizen Soldiers, to arms! Take up the ſhield of freedom, and the pledges of peace,—peace, the motive and end of your virtuous inſtitution.—War, an occaſional duty, ought never to be made an occupation. Every man ſhould become a ſoldier in the defence of his rights; no man ought to continue a ſoldier for offending the rights of others. The ſacrifice of life in the ſervice of our country is a duty much too honourable to be entruſted to mercenaries, and at this time when your country has by public authority been declared in danger, we conjure you by your intereſt, your duty and your glory, to ſtand to your arms, and in ſpite of a police, in ſpite of a ſencible militia, in virtue of two proclamations, to maintain good order in your vicinage, and tranquillity in Ireland.—It is only by the military array of men in whom they confide, whom they have been accuſtomed to revere as the guardians of domeſtic peace, the protectors of their liberties and lives, that the preſent agitation of the people can be ſtilled, that tumult and licentiouſneſs can be repreſſed, obedience ſecured to exiſting law, and a calm confidence diffuſed through the public mind in the ſpeedy reſur-

rection of a free conſtitution---of *Liberty* and of *Equality*,---words which we uſe for an opportunity of repelling calumny, and of ſaying, that,

By Liberty we never underſtood unlimited freedom, nor by Equality the levelling of property, or the deſtruction of ſubordination.---This is a calumny invented by that faction or that gang which miſrepreſents the King to the People, and the People to the King, traduces one half of the nation to cajole the other, and by keeping up diſtruſt and diviſion, wiſhes to continue the proud arbitrators of the fortune and fate of Ireland.---Liberty is the exerciſe of all our rights, natural and political, ſecured to us and our poſterity by a real repreſentation of the people ;---and equality is the extenſion of the conſtituent, to the fulleſt dimenſions of the conſtitution, of the elective franchiſe to the whole body of the people, to the end that government, which is collective power, may be guided by collective will, and that legiſlation may originate from public reaſon, keep pace with public improvement, and terminate in public happineſs. If our conſtitution be imperfect, nothing but a reform in repreſentation will rectify its abuſes; if it be perfect, nothing but the ſame reform will perpetuate its bleſſings.

We now addreſs you as citizens, for to be citizens you became ſoldiers ; nor can we help wiſhing that all ſoldiers, partaking the paſſions and intereſt of the people, would remember that they were once citizens, that ſeduction made them ſoldiers,----" but nature made them men." We addreſs you without any authority, ſave that of reaſon, and if we obtain the coincidence of public opinion it is neither by force nor ſtratagem, for we have no power to terrify, no artifice to cajole, no fund to ſeduce.—Here we ſit—without mace or beadle, neither a myſtery nor a craft, nor a coporation.——In four words lies all our power, UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION and REPRESENTATIVE LEGISLATURE; yet we are confident that on the pivot of this principle, a convention,—ſtill leſs,—a ſociety,—leſs ſtill, a ſingle man, would be able, firſt to move and then to raiſe the world. We, therefore, wiſh for catholic emancipation without any modification, but ſtill we conſider this neceſſary enfranchiſement as merely the portal to the temple of national freedom. Wide as this entrance is, wide enough to admit three milions,—it is narrow, when compared to the capacity and comprehenſion of our beloved principle, which takes in every individual of the Iriſh nation, caſts an equal eye over the whole iſland, embraces all that think, and feels for all that ſuffer. The catholic cauſe is ſubordinate to our cauſe, and included in it, for as UNITED IRISHMEN, we adhere to no ſect but to ſociety, to no creed but chriſtianity, to no party, but the whole people.—In the ſincerity of our ſouls, do we deſire catholic emancipation, but were it obtained, to-morrow, to-morrow would we go on, as we do to-day, in the purſuit of that reform which would ſtill be wanting to ratify their liberties as well as our own.

For both theſe purpoſes, it appears neceſſary that provincial conventions ſhould aſſemble preparatory to the convention of the proteſtant people. The Delegates of the catholic body are not juſtified in communicating with individuals, or even bodies of inferior authority, and therefore an aſſembly of a ſimilar nature and organization is neceſſary to eſtabliſh an intercourſe of ſentiment, an uniformity of conduct, an united cauſe, and an united nation. If a convention on the one part does not ſoon follow, and is not ſoon connected with that on the other, the common cauſe will ſplit into the partial intereſt: the people will relax into inattention and inertneſs: the union of affection and exertion will diſſolve, and too probably ſome local inſurrection, inſtigated by the malignity of our common enemy, may commit the character, and riſque the tranquillity of the iſland, which can be obviated only by the influence of an aſſembly ariſing from, aſſimilated with the people, and whoſe ſpirit may be as it were knit with the ſoul of the nation,---unleſs the ſenſe of the proteſtant people be on their part as fairly collected and as judiciouſly directed, unleſs individual exertion conſolidates into collective ſtrength, unleſs the particles unite into maſs, we may perhaps ſerve ſome perſon, or ſome party for a little, but the public not at all. The nation is neither inſolent nor rebellious nor ſeditious. While it knows its rights it is unwilling to manifeſt its powers. It would rather ſupplicate adminiſtration to anticipate revolution by a well timed reform, and to ſave their country in mercy to themſelves.

The 15th of February approaches, a day ever memorable in the annals of this country as the birth-day of new Ireland---Let parochial meetings be held as ſoon as poſſible. Let each pariſh return delegates, Let the ſenſe of Ulſter be again declared from Duncannon on a day auſpicious to union, peace, and freedom, and the ſpirit of the north will again become the ſpirit of the nation. The civil aſsembly ought to claim the attendance of the military aſsociations, and we have addreſsed you citizen ſoldiers, on this ſubject, from the belief that your body, uniting conviction with zeal, and zeal with activity, may have much influence over our countrymen, your relations and friends. We offer only a general outline to the public, and meaning to addrefs Ireland, we preſume not at preſent to fill up the plan, or pre-occupy the mode of its execution. We have thought it our duty to ſpeak: anſwer us by actions; you have taken time for conſideration. Fourteen long years have elapſed ſince the riſe of your aſsociations, and in 1782 did you imagine that in 1792 this nation would ſtill remain unrepreſented? How many nations in this interval have gotten the ſtart of Ireland! How many of our countrymen have ſunk into the grave!

January 25, 1793.

The Society of United Iriſhmen of Dublin to the Iriſh Nation.

William Drennan, Chairman.

Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Secretary.

On the 9th of November 1791, was this ſociety founded. We and our beloved brethren of Belfaſt firſt began that civic union, which, if a nation be a ſociety united for mutual advantage, has made Ireland a nation; and at a time when all wiſhed, many willed, but few ſpoke, and fewer acted, we, Catholics and Proteſtants, joined our hands and our hearts together; ſunk every diſtinctive appellation in the name of *Iriſhman*; and, in the preſence of God, devoted ourſelves to univerſal enfranchiſement and a real repreſentation of all the people in parliament. On this rock of right our little ark found a reſting place; gradually, though not ſlowly, throughout the country, other ſtations of ſafety appeared, and what before was agitated ſea became firm and fertile land. From that time have the body and ſpirit of our ſocieties increaſed, until ſelfiſh corporations, ſunk in conſcious inſignificance, have given way to a grand incorporation of the Iriſh people.

Knowing that what the tongue is to the man, the preſs is to the people, though nearly blaſted in our cradle by the ſorcery of ſolicitors of law and general attorneys, we have perſiſted with courageous perſeverance to rally around this forlorn hope of freedom, and to maintain this citadel of the conſtitution at the riſque of perſonal ſecurity, property, and all that was dear to us.

We have defended the violated liberty of the ſubject againſt the undefined and voracious privilege of the Houſe of Commons, treating with merited ſcorn the inſolent menaces of men inflated with office.

Not a man ſo low that if oppreſsed by any aſsumption of power, civil or military, has not met with our counſel, our purſe and our protection; not a man ſo high, that if acting contrary to popular right or public independence, we have not denounced at the judgement ſeat of juſtice, and at the equitable tribunal of public opinion.

We have addreſsed the Volunteers---deliverers of this injured land! Have we done wrong? If we have, tear your colours from the ſtaff, reverſe your arms, muffle your drums, beat a funeral march for Ireland, and then abandon the corpſe to penſibles, to militia, to invalids and diſmounted dragoons. If we have done wrong, and we ſwear by the revolution of 1782 that we have not, go on with the zeal of enterprizing virtue, and a ſenſe of your own importance, to exerciſe that right of ſelf-defence which belongs to the nation, and to infuſe conſtitutional energy into the public will for the public good.

O, Ireland! Ireland! country to which we have clung in all our misfortunes, perſonal, religious, political; for whoſe freedom and happineſs we are here ſolemnly united; for whom, as a ſociety, we live; and for whom as men, if hard neceſſity commands it, we are ready to die; let us conjure you not to abuſe the preſent precious moment, by a ſelf-extinguiſhment, by a credulous committal of your judgment and ſenſes to the direction of others by an idle and idiot gaze on what may be going on in parliament. In receiving good offices from all, diſtinguiſh between ſound Hiberniciſm and that windy patriotiſm, which is now puffing and blowing in the race of popularity. Truſt as little to your friends as to your enemies in a matter where you can act only by yourſelves. The will of the nation muſt be declared before any reform ought to take place. It is not therefore any claſs however numerous, any ſociety however reſpectable, any ſubaltern aſſembly that have either right or competency to expreſs that authoritative will. Nothing leſs than the people can ſpeak for the people. This competency reſides not in a few freeholders ſhivering in the corner of a county hall, but only in the whole community repreſented *in* each county, (as at preſent in Antrim,) by parochial delegation, and then *from* each county by baronial delegation, to provincial conventions, the union of which muſt form the awful will of the people of Ireland. Let us therefore conclude, by conjuring the county meetings now aſſembling to follow the example of Ulſter, and by appointing delegates to a convention of their reſpective provinces, to unite their ſcattered and inſulated wills into one momentous maſs, which may have authority ſufficient to make a declaration of rights in behalf of the nation.

A Plan of an equal Repreſentation of the People of Ireland in the Houſe of Commons

Prepared for Public Conſidoration by the Society of United Iriſhmen of Dublin.

I. THAT the nation, for the purpoſe of repreſentation ſolely, ſhould be divided into three hundred electorates, formed by a combination of pariſhes, and as nearly as poſſible equal in point of population

II. That each electorate ſhould return one repreſentative to parliament

III. That each electorate ſhould for the convenience of carrying on the elections at the ſame time be ſubdived into a ſufficient number of parts.

IV. That there ſhould be a returning officer for each electorate, and a deputy returning officer for each ſubdiviſion, to be reſpectively elected.

V That the electors of the electorate ſhould vote, each in the ſubdiviſion in which he is regiſtered, and has reſided as hereinafter ſpecified.

VI. That the returning officers of the ſubdiviſions ſhould ſeverally return their reſpective polls to the returning officer of the electorate, who ſhould tot up the whole, and return the perſon having a majority of votes, as the repreſentative in parliament.

VII. That every man poſſeſſing the right of ſuffrage for a repreſentative in parliament ſhould exerciſe it in his own perſon only.

VIII. That no perſon ſhould have a right to vote in more than one electorate, at the ſame election

IX. That every male of ſound mind, who has attained the full age of twenty one years, and actually dwelt, or maintained a family eſtabliſhment in any electorate for ſix months of the twelve immediately previous to the commencement of the electon, (provided his reſidence, or maintaining a family eſtabliſhment be duly regiſtered) ſhould be intitled to vote for the repreſentative of the electorate.

X. That there ſhould be a regiſtering officer, and a regiſtry of reſidence in every ſubdiviſion of each electorate; and that in all queſtions concerning reſidence, the regiſtry ſhould be conſidered as concluſive evidence.

XI. That all elections in the nation ſhould commence and cloſe on the ſame day.

XII. That the votes of all electors ſhould be given by voice and not by ballot.

XIII. That no oath of any kind ſhould be taken by any elector.

XIV. That the full age of twenty-five years ſhould be a neceſſary qualification to intitle any man to be a repreſentative.

XV. That reſidence, within the electorate ſhould not, but that reſidence within the kingdom ſhould be a neceſſary qualification for a repreſentative.

XVI. That no property qualification ſhould be neceſſary to intitle any man to be a repreſentative.

XVII. That any perſon having a penſion, or holding a place in the Executive or Judicial Departments, ſhould be thereby diſqualified from being a repreſentative.

XVIII. That repreſentatives ſhould receive a reaſonable ſtipend for their ſervices.

XIX. That every repreſentative ſhould, on taking his ſeat, ſwear that neither he, nor any perſon to promote his intereſt, with his privity, gave or was to give any bribe for the ſuffrage of any voter.

XX. That any repreſentative convicted by a jury, of having

acted contrary to the ſubſtance of the above oath, ſhould be for ever diſqualified from ſitting or voting in parliament.

XXI. That parliaments ſhould be annual.

XXII. That a repreſentative ſhould be at liberty to reſign his delegation upon giving ſufficient notice to his conſtituents.

XXIII. That abſence from duty for ſhould vacate the ſeat of a repreſentative,

The Society of United Iriſhmen of Dublin, to the People of Ireland.

People of Ireland,

WE now ſubmit to your conſideration, a plan for your equal repreſentation in the Houſe of Commons. In framing it, we have diſregarded the many over-charged accuſations, which we hear daily made by the prejudiced and the corrupt, againſt the people, their independence, integrity and underſtanding. We are, ourſelves, *but a portion of the People;* and that appellation, we feel, confers more real honour and importance, than can, in *theſe times*, be derived from places, penſions, or titles. As little have we conſulted the ſentiments of adminiſtration or of oppoſition. We have attentively obſerved them both, and, whatever we may hope of ſome members of the latter, *we firmly believe that both thoſe parties are equally averſe from the meaſure of adequate reform. If we had no other reaſon for that opinion, the plan laid before parliament, in the laſt ſeſſion, under the auſpices of oppoſition, might convince us of the melancholy truth.* Thus circumſtanced, then, diſtruſting all parties, we hold it the right and the duty of every man in the nation, to examine, deliberate, and decide for himſelf on that important meaſure. *As a portion of the People* (for in no other capacity, we again repeat it, do we preſume to addreſs you) we ſuggeſt to you our ideas, by which we would provide to preſerve the popular part of the legiſlature uninfluenced by, and independent of the other two parts, and to effectuate that eſſential principle of juſtice and of our conſtitution, that every man has the right of voting, through the medium of his repreſentative, for the law by which he is bound: that ſacred principle, for which America fought, and by which Ireland was emancipated from Britiſh Supremacy! If our ideas are right, which we feel an honeſt conviction they are, adopt them, if wrong, diſcuſſion will detect their errors, and *we at leaſt*, ſhall be always found ready to profit by, and conform ourſelves to the ſentiments of the people.

Our preſent ſtate of repreſentation is charged with being unequal, unjuſt, and by no means calculated to expreſs *your* deliberate will on any ſubject of general importance. We have endeavoured to point out the remedies of thoſe evils, by a more

equal diſtribution of political power and liberty, *by doing juſtice*, and by anxiouſly providing that your deliberate will ſhall be, at all times, accurately expreſſed in your own branch of the legiſlature. If theſe are not the principles of good government, we have yet to learn from the placemen and penſioners that flit about the Caſtle, in what the ſcience of politics can conſiſt. But we know they are, and we are bold to ſay, that the more a government carries theſe principles into effect, the nearer it approaches to perfection.

We believe it will be ſaid that our plan, however juſt, is impracticable in the preſent ſtate of this country. If any part of that impracticability ſhould be ſuppoſed to reſult from the intereſted reſiſtance of borough proprietors, although we never will conſent to compromiſe the *public right*, yet we, for our parts, might not heſitate to purchaſe the *public peace* by an adequate compenſation. At all events it reſts with you, countrymen, not with us, to remove the objection. If you do not wiſh the accompliſhment of ſuch a reform, it will not take place: if you do, we cannot believe that Ireland is yet ſunk to that ſtate of miſgovernment in which it may be truly ſaid, that although the great body of the people ſeriouſly feel the juſtice of a meaſure, and are ſeriouſly determined on its attainment, it is neverthelefs impracticable.

To you, among our countrymen, for whoſe welfare we have peculiarly laboured from the firſt moment of our inſtitution, and the contemplation of whoſe proſperity will more than compenſate us for the ſufferings we may have endured, for the calumnies with which we are aſperſed, and for thoſe which the publication of this unpalateable plan will call down upon us: *To you the poorer claſſes of the community* we now addreſs ourſelves. We are told you are ignorant; we wiſh you to enjoy liberty, without which no people was ever enlightened. We are told you are uneducated and immoral; we wiſh you to be educated, and your morality improved, by the moſt rapid of all inſtructors—a good government. Do you find yourſelf ſunk in poverty and wretchedneſs? Are you overloaded with burdens you are but little able to bear? Do you feel many grievances which it would be tedious and might be *unſafe* to mention? Believe us they can all be redreſſed by ſuch a reform as will give *you* your juſt proportion of influence in the legiſlature. AND BY SUCH A MEASURE ONLY.—To that, therefore, we wiſh to rivet all your attention. Let thoſe men who wrangle about preſerving or acquiring power catch at popularity by their petty regulations to check the progreſs of theſe growing evils; do you deliberate, in the retirement of your hearts, upon their only adequate remedy. Deſiſt, we entreat you, from thoſe diſturbances, which are a diſgrace to your country, and an injury to yourſelves, which impair your own ſtrength and impede your own cauſe. Ex-

amine, *peaceably and attentively*, the plan of reform we now ſubmit to you. Conſider *does it propoſe to do* YOU *juſtice? Does it propoſe to give* YOU *ſufficient protection?* for we have no fears but that the rich will have juſtice done to them, and will be always ſufficiently protected. *Hang this plan up in your cabbins; think on it over and over again; do not throw it by in deſpair, as being impoſſible to be carried into effect,* FOR NOTHING, WE HOPE, IS IMPOSSIBLE THAT IS JUST.

Conſtitution of the Society of United Iriſhmen of the City of Dublin, as firſt agreed upon.

THE Society is conſtituted for the purpoſe of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, an identity of intereſts, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Iriſhmen of all religious perſuaſions, and thereby obtaining an impartial and adequate repreſentation of the nation in parliament.

The members of this ſociety are either ordinary or honorary.

Such perſons only are eligible as honorary members, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by promoting the liberties of mankind, and are not inhabitants of Ireland.

Every candidate for admiſſion into the ſociety, whether as an ordinary or honorary member, ſhall be propoſed by two ordinary members, who ſhall ſign a certificate of his being, from their knowledge of him, a fit perſon to be admitted—that he has ſeen the teſt, and is willing to take it: this certificate, delivered to the ſecretary, ſhall be read from the chair at the enſuing meeting of the ſociety, and on the next ſubſequent night of meeting the ſociety ſhall proceed to the election.—The names and additions of the candidate, with the names of thoſe by whom he has been propoſed, ſhall be inſerted in the ſummons for the night of election. The election ſhall be conducted by ballot, and if one fifth of the number of beans be black, the candidate ſtands rejected. The election, with reſpect to an ordinary member, ſhall be void, if he does not attend within four meetings afterwards, unleſs he can plead ſome reaſonable excuſe for his abſence.

Every perſon elected a member of the ſociety, whether honorary or ordinary, ſhall, previous to his admiſſion, take and ſubſcribe the following teſt:

" I, *A. B.* in the preſence of God, do pledge myſelf to my " country, that I will uſe all my abilities and influence in the

" attainment of an impartial and adequate repreſentation of the " Iriſh nation in parliament; and as a means of abſolute and " immediate neceſſity in the eſtabliſhment of this chief good of " Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as lies in my ability, to " forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of intereſts, a " communion of rights, and an union of power among Iriſhmen " of all religious perſuaſions; without which every reform in " parliament muſt be partial, not national, inadequate to the " wants, deluſive to the wiſhes, and inſufficient for the freedom " and happineſs of this country."

A member of another ſociety of united Iriſhmen being introduced to the preſident by a member of this ſociety, ſhall upon producing a certificate ſigned by the ſecretary, and ſealed with the ſeal of the ſociety to which he belongs, and taking the beforementioned teſt, be thereupon admitted to attend the ſittings of this ſociety.

The officers of the ſociety ſhall conſiſt of a preſident, treaſurer, and ſecretary, who ſhall be ſeverally elected every three months, viz. on every firſt night of meeting in the months of November, February, May, and Auguſt; the election to be determined by each member preſent writing on a piece of paper the names of the object of his choice, and putting it into a box—The majority of votes ſhall decide. If the votes are equal, the preſident ſhall have a caſting voice. No perſon ſhall be capable of being reelected to any office for the quarter next ſucceeding the determination of his office. In caſe of an occaſional vacancy in any office by death or otherwiſe, the ſociety ſhall, on the next night of meeting, elect a perſon to the ſame for the remainder of the quarter.

The ſociety ſhall meet on every ſecond Friday night; oftener if neceſſary. The chair ſhall be taken at eight o'clock from 29th September to 25th March, and at nine oclock from 25th March to 29th September. Fifteen members ſhall form a quorum. No new buſineſs ſhall be introduced after ten o'clock.

Every reſpect and deference ſhall be paid to the preſident; his chair ſhall be raiſed three ſteps above the ſeats of the members; the treaſurer and ſecretary ſhall have ſeats under him, two ſteps above the ſeats of the members. On his riſing from his chair and taking off his hat, there muſt be ſilence, and the members be ſeated. He ſhall be judge of order and propriety, be impowered to direct an apology, and to fine refractory members in any ſum not above one crown. If the member refuſe to pay the fine, or make the apology, he is thereupon expelled from the ſociety.

There ſhall be a committee of conſtitution, of finance, of correſpondence, and of accommodation. The committee of conſtitution ſhall conſiſt of nine members, that of finance of ſeven

members, that of correſpondence of five members. Each committee ſhall, independent of occaſional reports, make general reports on every quarterly meeting. The treaſurer ſhall be under the direction of the committee of finance, and the ſecretary under the direction of the committee of correſpondence. The election for committees ſhall be on every quarterly meeting, and decided by the majority of votes.

In order to defray the neceſſary expences, and eſtabliſh a fund for the uſe of the ſociety, each ordinary member ſhall on his election pay to the treaſurer, by thoſe who propoſed him, one guinea admiſſion fee, and alſo one guinea annually, by half yearly payments, on every firſt night of meeting in November and May; the firſt payment thereof to be on the firſt night of meeting in November 1792. On every quarterly meeting following, the names of the defaulters, as they appear in the treaſury-book, ſhall be read from the chair. If any member after the ſecond reading neglect to pay his ſubſcription, he ſhall be excluded the ſociety, unleſs he can ſhew ſome reaſonable excuſe for his default.

The ſecretary ſhall be furniſhed with the following ſeal, viz. a harp---at the top "*I am new ſtrung;*" at the bottom, "*I will be heard;* and on the exergue "*Society of United Iriſhmen of Dublin.*"

No motion for an alteration of, or addition to, the conſtitution ſhall be made but at the quarterly meetings, and notice of ſuch motion ſhall be given fourteen days previous to thoſe meetings. If upon ſuch motion the ſociety ſhall ſee ground for the propoſed alteration or addition, the ſame ſhall be referred to the proper committee, with inſtructions to report on the next night of meeting their opinion thereon; and upon ſuch report the queſtion ſhall be decided by the ſociety.

No. VI.

Extracts from the Information of Charles Mc. Fillin, given upon Oath before George Fitzgerald Hill, Esq; a Magistrate for the County of the City of Londonderry.

" THAT about the month of June 1796 he was sworn to become a United Irishman; he had resisted for a considerable time before to take the oath, but he perceived that so many persons in the county were sworn, and he was so strongly advised to it that he at last complied. He attended a few meetings of a Society which had been formed by another person, and he then formed one of his own. That each Society (to be legal according to the Constitution of United Irishmen) must consist of at least seven persons; that it required Delegates from at least three societies to make a Baronial Committee, and that two Delegates from each Baronial Committee formed a County Committee, and two or three Delegates from each County Committee formed the Provincial Committee; there was an Executive Directory, which he was informed consisted of twenty-five persons, one of whom always attended the Provincial Meeting, in order to communicate intelligence and give orders to be carried by the members of the Provincial Meeting to their next County Meeting, and from the County Committee to the Baronial, and from these to the lowest societies. Each Committee had a Treasurer and Secretary, and it was the business of the Treasurer of the lowest society to collect so much money per week from each member, which was paid by the different Delegates of the different Societies progressively from one to the other until it reached the Provincial Committee, who then paid the money to the Executive Director, who always attended for the Purpose; and once in three months the Directory gave an account to the Provincial of the manner in which the former sums received had been disposed of. Returns likewise of arms, ammunition, and men were made from the lowest society to the Delegates through the different Committees, the Baronial, the County, and the Provincial, and from this last to the Executive Directory, who always attended the Provincial Committee."

The person giving this information was elected a Delegate to a County Committee which was held at Maghera on the 13th October 1796, and a person whom he names attended to give the reports of the last Provincial Meeting; about twenty members were present at this meeting one of whom acted as Treasurer, and the sum of 21l. 12s. 2d. was paid into his hands. He attended another County Meeting at Garvagh, on the second Friday in November, where the reports of the Provincial were in like Manner given; it was a full meeting, and the names of nine persons who were present are given. The Reporter from the Provincial

told them that foreign aid was immediately expected, and that the United Iriſhmen were to hold themſelves in readineſs to riſe; this he mentioned from the Provincial, and gave them orders from the Provincial Committee to form themſelves into Companies under Officers; every hundred men to appoint one Captain, two Lieutenants, and five Sergeants, to procure all the arms and ammunition they could. A perſon at the meeting deſired to know what they ſhould riſe with? and the Reporter anſwered, with pikes, guns, and with any other weapons they could in any way get; they were likewiſe told that the United Buſineſs was going on well in England and Scotland.

At this laſt meeting he was elected a Delegate to the Provincial meeting; a County Treaſurer was choſen, and half of the money collected was ſent to Derry for the uſe of ſuch United Men as were priſoners in that place. The reaſon why he was elected a Delegate he thinks was on account of his being a Roman Catholic, part of the ſyſtem of the United Iriſhmen, being to unite all religious perſuaſions in the ſame object, which was to overturn the Government and Conſtitution of this country. To inſpire confidence into the Roman Catholics he thinks was the Reaſon for his being continued to four or five Provincial Meetings.

The foreign aid which the United Iriſhmen expected he always underſtood to be the French. At the next Provincial Meeting which he attended on the 22d November the principal buſineſs done was receiving the returns of men, and arms and money. Five counties were repreſented at this meeting, and the names of the Delegates from each are mentioned. He was then deputed to carry the reports from the Provincial to a County Committee of Derry held at Tobermore; he attended other meetings in the ſame capacity at Stewarſtown and at Dungiven; ſubſcriptions were paid in at both times. At the latter place, for greater ſecrecy, they tranſacted the buſineſs of the meeting in a Cellar. It was rumoured that the French had arrived, and a member rode inſtantly to Belfaſt to know the truth; on his return he expreſſed much ſurprize that the Executive Directory had no intelligence of the coming of the French.

No. VII.

(Copy) By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

A PROCLAMATION.

CAMDEN,

WHEREAS we have received information that divers ill-affected

perſons have entered into illegal and treaſonable aſſociations in ſeveral parts of the counties of Antrim, Down, Tyrone, Londonderry, and Armagh to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed government of this kingdom, and for effecting ſuch their treaſonable purpoſes have aſſaſſinated divers of his Majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects who have endeavoured, and threatened to aſſaſſinate all others who ſhall endeavour to detect or ſuppreſs their treaſon; and in further proſecution of their deſigns have endeavoured to deter his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects from enrolling themſelves under officers commiſſioned by his Majeſty for the defence of this kingdom during the preſent war, by maiming and deſtroying their cattle, and by aſſaulting and wantonly wounding one perſon becauſe he had enrolled himſelf, and by threatening aſſaſſination againſt all perſons who ſhould ſo enrol themſelves, and in further proſecution of ſuch their purpoſes have by felonious and other illegal means, endeavoured ſecretly to procure ammunition and other warlike ſtores, and particularly that ſeveral evil-diſpoſed perſons lately broke into one of his Majeſty's ſtores in the town of Belfaſt in the county of Antrim, and thereout took and carried away ten barrels of gun-powder.

And whereas we have alſo received information that on Tueſday the firſt of November inſtant a conſiderable number of armed men, aſſociated in the aforeſaid treaſonable conſpiracies, entered the town of Stewarſtown in the county of Tyrone, and cut and maimed ſeveral of the peaceful inhabitents of the ſaid town who had refuſed to join in their aſſociations, and who had agreed to enrol themſelves in corps under officers to be commiſſioned by his Majeſty for the preſervation of the public peace, and for the protection of the kingdom againſt foreign invaſion.

And whereas we have alſo received information, that in further proſecution of the ſaid treaſonable purpoſes many large bodies of men have aſſembled and arrayed themſelves and marched in military order and with military muſick through ſeveral parts of the ſaid diſtricts, under the pretence of ſaving corn and digging potatoes (though they far exceeded the numbers neceſſary to be employed in ſuch ſervices) to the very great terror of the loyal and faithful ſubjects of his Majeſty.

And whereas ſuch treaſonable outrages have cauſed well-grounded alarms in the minds of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, and are of the moſt dangerous and pernicious tendency:

Now we the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council, being determined to maintain the public peace and to afford protection to all his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, and immediately and effectually to exerciſe all powers with which the conſtitution has inveſted us for theſe purpoſes, do forewarn all perſons of the danger they may incur, and on their allegiance charge them to deſiſt from ſuch treaſonable practices.

And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all mayors, ſheriffs, juſtices of the peace and other peace officers, and all officers civil and military in this Kingdom, and all other his Majeſtys loving ſubjects, as they tender their allegiance to his Majeſty and their own ſafety, to uſe their beſt endeavours to prevent, and where that cannot be done, to diſcover and bring to juſtice thoſe concerned in the aforeſaid practices, and to prevent and diſperſe all treaſonable, ſeditious or unlawful aſſemblies, the neceſſary orders having been already iſſued to the ſeveral officers of his Majeſty's forces in this kingdom to be aiding and aſſiſting to the civil magiſtrates in the execution of their duties for that purpoſe.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin the 6th Day of November 1796.

W. Armagh, Clare, C. Bellamont, Glandore, Mount Norris, Ely, Dillon, Pery, Mountjoy, O'Neil, Muſkerry, Donoghmore, Carleton, Yelverton, Roſſmore, John Foſter, J. Parnell, J. Blaquirer, Her. Langriſhe, D. La Touche, H. Cavendiſh, Arthur Wolfe, James Cuff, J. Beresford, T. Pelham, Robert Roſs, S. Hamilton, Lodge Morris.

(A true Copy.) J. PATRICKSON.

No. VIII.

Mr. Pelham's Letter to General Lake, 3d March.

Dublin Caſtle, 3d March, 1797.

SIR,

I am commanded by my Lord Lieutenant to acquaint you, that

from the information received by his Excellency, with reſpect to various parts of the north of Ireland, additional meaſures to thoſe hitherto employed for preſerving the public peace are become neceſſary. It appears that in the counties of Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Derry, and Donegal, ſecret and treaſonable aſſociations ſtill continue to an alarming degree, and that the perſons concerned in theſe aſſociations are attempting to defeat all the exertions of the loyal and well-diſpoſed, by the means of terror; that they threaten the lives of all who ſhall venture, from regard to their duty and oath of allegiance, to diſcover their treaſons; that they aſſemble in great numbers by night, and by threats and force, diſarm the peaceable inhabitants; that they have fired on his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, when endeavouring to apprehend them in their nocturnal robberies; that they threaten by papers, letters, and notices, the perſons of thoſe who ſhall, in any manner, reſiſt or oppoſe them: that in their nightly excurſions, for the purpoſe of diſarming his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, they diſguiſe their perſons and countenances; that they endeavour to collect great quantities of Arms in concealed hiding places; that they have cut down great numbers of trees on the eſtates of the gentry, for the purpoſe of making pikes; that they have ſtolen great quantities of lead for the purpoſe of caſting bullets; that they privately by night exerciſe themſelves in the practice of arms; that they endeavour to intimidate perſons from joining the yeomanry corps eſtabliſhed by law, in order to reſiſt a foreign enemy; that they refuſe to employ in manufactures thoſe who enliſt in the ſaid corps; that they not only threaten, but ill treat the perſons of the yeomanry, and even attack their houſes by night, and proceed to the barbarous extremity of deliberate and ſhocking murder, as was exemplified in their recent attack and murder, by night, of Mr. Comyns of Newtownards, and that they profeſs a reſolution to aſſiſt the enemies of his Majeſty, if they ſhould be enabled to land in this kingdom. It farther appears, that theſe diſturbances and outrages exiſt, and even encreaſe, as well in the diſtricts which have been proclaimed, as in other parts of the country. In order therefore to reduce the perſons engaged in the aforeſaid treaſonable aſſociations, and guilty of the ſaid atrocious outrages to ſubordination to the laws, and to give confidence to the well-diſpoſed among his Majeſty's ſubjects, and ſecurity to their properties and their lives, and to prevent any aſſiſtance being given to the enemy by the diſloyal and diſaffected, His Excellency has commanded me to communicate to you his poſitive orders, that you take the moſt immediate and deciſive meaſures for diſpoſing of the military force under your command, aided by the yeomanry corps, for immediately diſarming all perſons who ſhall not bear his Majeſty's commiſſion, or are acting under perſons ſo commiſſioned, or perſons holding commiſſions under the authority of the yeomanry act,

or perſons acting under officers ſo commiſſioned, and after making ſuch diſpoſition, you are required to carry ſuch diſarming into effect.

His Excellency gives you this full authority, in order to give your diſcretion the greateſt latitude, relying at the ſame time on your prudence and diſcernment in the exerciſe of it, ſo that the peaceable and well-affected may be protected againſt the evil deſigns of thoſe who have threatened their lives and property with deſtruction.

His Excellency farther authorizes you to employ force againſt any perſons aſſembled in arms, not legally authorized ſo to be, to diſperſe all tumultuous aſſemblies of perſons, though they may not be in arms, without waiting for the ſanction and aſſiſtance of the civil authority, if in your opinion the peace of the realm or the ſafety of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects may be endangered by waiting for ſuch authority.

His Excellency farther authorizes you to conſider thoſe parts of the country where the outrages before ſtated have been committed, or where they ſhall ariſe, as being in a ſtate that requires all the meaſures of exertion and precaution which a country, depending upon military force alone for its protection, would require; and you are therefore required to ſtation your troops with a view to interrupt communication between thoſe whom you may have reaſon to ſuſpect of evil deſigns; to eſtabliſh patroles on the high roads or other paſſes, and to ſtop all perſons paſſing and repaſſing after certain hours of the night; and in order completely to carry into effect any orders or regulations, which, in the circumſtances of the caſe may be conſidered by you as neceſſary, you are authorized to iſſue notices, ſtating the regulations, and calling upon his Majeſty's ſubjects to be aiding and aſſiſting therein.

I have the honour to be,

&c. &c.

To Lieut. Gen. Lake. T. P.

No. IX.

General Lake's Proclamation, 13th March, 1797.

Belfaſt, March 13th, 1797.

WHEREAS the daring and horrid outrages in many parts of

this province, evidently perpetrated with a view to ſuperſede the laws and the adminiſtration of juſtice, by an organized ſyſtem of murder and robbery, have increaſed to ſuch an alarming degree, as from their atrocity and extent to bid defiance to the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects.

And whereas the better to effect their traitorous purpoſes, ſeveral perſons who have been enrolled under the authority of his Majeſty's Commiſſions, and others, have been forcibly and traitorouſly deprived of their arms, it is therefore become indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſafety and protection of the well diſpoſed, to interpoſe the King's troops under my command; and I do hereby give notice, that I have received authority and directions to act in ſuch manner as the public ſafety may require.

I do therefore hereby enjoin and require all perſons in this diſtrict (peace officers and thoſe ſerving in a military capacity excepted) forthwith to bring in and ſurrender up all arms and ammunition which they may have in their poſſeſſion, to the officer commanding the King's troops in their neighbourhood.

I truſt that an immediate compliance with this order may render any act of mine to enforce it unneceſſary.

Let the people ſeriouſly reflect before it is too late, on the ruin into which they are ruſhing; let them reflect on their preſent proſperity and the miſeries in which they will inevitably be involved by perſiſting in acts of poſitive rebellion; let them inſtantly by ſurrendering up their arms, and by reſtoring thoſe taritorouſly taken from the King's forces, reſcue themſelves from the ſeverity of military authority---Let all the loyal and well-intentioned act together with energy and ſpirit, in enforcing ſubordination to the laws, and reſtoring tranquillity in their reſpective neighbourhoods, and they may be aſſured of protection and ſupport from me.

And I do hereby invite all perſons who are enabled to give information, touching arms and ammunition which may be concealed, immediately to communicate the ſame to the ſeveral officers commanding his Majeſty's forces in their reſpective diſtricts; and for their encouragement and reward, I do hereby promiſe and engage that ſtrict and inviolable ſecrecy ſhall be obſerved with reſpect to all perſons who ſhall make communication; and that every perſon who ſhall make it, ſhall receive as a reward the full value of all ſuch arms and ammunition as ſhall be ſeized in conſequence thereof.

G. LAKE, Lieut. Gen.
Commanding the Northern Diſtrict.

No. X.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

A PROCLAMATION.

CAMDEN,

WHEREAS there exiſts within this kingdom a ſeditious and traitorous conſpiracy, by a number of perſons ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen, for the ſubverſion of the authority of His Majeſty and the Parliament, and the deſtruction of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution and government: and whereas for the execution of ſuch their wicked deſign, they have planned means of open violence, and formed ſecret arrangements for raiſing, arming, and paying a diſciplined force, and, in furtherance of their purpoſes, have frequently aſſembled in great and unuſual numbers, under the colourable pretence of planting or digging potatoes, attending funerals, and the like, and have frequently aſſembled in large armed bodies, and plundered of arms the houſes of many of His Majeſty's loyal ſubjects in different parts of the kingdom, and cut down and carried away great numbers of trees, wherewith to make handles for pikes, and other offenſive weapons, to arm their traitorous aſſociates, and have audaciouſly attempted to diſarm the diſtrict or yeomanry corps, enrolled under His Majeſty's commiſſion for the defence of the realm, and even fired upon ſeveral bodies of His Majeſty's forces, when attempting to quell their inſurrection; and it is therefore now become neceſſary to uſe the utmoſt powers with which government is by law entruſted for the ſuppreſſion of ſuch traitorous attempts. *And whereas the exertions of the civil power have proved ineffectual for the ſuppreſſion of the aforeſaid traitorous and wicked conſpiracy, and for the protection of the lives and properties of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects.*

Now We the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of the privy council, having determined, as far as in Us lies, to ſuppreſs ſuch daring attempts, and at the ſame time, deſirous to prevent the well-diſpoſed, or miſled, from falling into the dangers to which ignorance or incaution may expoſe them, do by this our proclamation, forewarn all ſuch to abſtain from entering into the ſaid traitorous ſocieties of *United Iriſhmen*, or any of them, and from reſorting to their meetings, or acting under their directions or influence, or taking or adhering to any of their declarations or engagements, and from ſuffering them to aſſemble in their houſes, or in any manner harbouring them. And We do ſtrictly charge and command on their allegiance, all perſons having knowledge or information of the meetings of the ſaid ſocieties, or any of them, to give immediate information thereof to ſome of his Majeſties juſtices of the

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peace, or to ſome officer of his Majeſties forces in the neighbourhood of the place where ſuch meeting is intended. And We do forewarn all perſons from tumultuous or unlawful aſſemblies, or from meeting in any unuſual numbers, under the plauſible or colourable pretence aforeſaid, or any other, whatſoever.

And We caution his Majeſty's loyal and loving ſubjects, whenever ſuch aſſemblies ſhall happen, or that they receive notice from any magiſtrates, or from the officers commanding any body of his Majeſty's forces, to keep quietly within their dwellings, to the end that the well-diſpoſed may avoid the miſchiefs which the guilty may bring upon themſelves.

And as it has become neceſſary, from the circumſtances before mentioned, *to employ the military force, with which we are by law entruſted, for the immediate ſuppreſſion of ſuch rebellious and traitorous attempts now making againſt the peace and dignity of the crown, and the ſafety of the lives and properties of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects. We have therefore iſſued the moſt direct and official orders to all officers commanding his Majeſty's troops, by the exertions of their utmoſt force, to ſuppreſs the ſame, and to oppoſe with their full power all ſuch as ſhall reſiſt them in the execution of their duty.*

And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all our officers, civil and military, and all other his Majeſty's loving ſubjects, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to diſcover all pikes, pike-heads, concealed guns and ſwords, offenſive weapons, or ammunition of any kind whatſoever.

And We do hereby charge and command all perſons having in their cuſtody pikes, pike-heads, or concealed guns, ſwords, offenſive weapons, or ammunition of any kind whatever, to deliver up the ſame to ſome magiſtrate or officer of his Majeſty's troops, as they ſhall anſwer to the contrary at their peril. And We do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all officers, civil and military, and all other his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, to be aiding and aſſiſting in ſuppreſſing all traitorous, tumultuous and unlawful aſſemblies, and in bringing to puniſhment all perſons diſturbing or attempting to diſturb the public peace.

And whereas we have reaſon to hope that many of his Majeſty's ſubjects who have joined the ſaid traitorous ſocieties, have done ſo without being apprized of the extent of their crimes, and others from intimidation, and that ſuch may be willing to return to their allegiance. Now We being deſirous to extend his Majeſty's pardon to all ſuch as are ſenſible of their errors, and willing to return to their allegiance, do hereby promiſe his Majeſty's gracious pardon to all ſuch perſons, ſo ſeduced or intimidated, as have taken an engagement to the ſaid ſocieties, or any of them, who ſhall, on or before the twenty-fourth day of June next, ſurrender themſelves to any of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, being of the quorum of the counties in which they ſhall reſpectively reſide, and take the oath of allegiance, and enter into ſufficient recognizance, with two

ſufficient ſureties, if ſureties ſhall be required by the magiſtrate before whom ſuch recognizance ſhall be acknowledged, (which recognizance every ſuch magiſtrate is hereby required to return to the next general ſeſſion of the peace, or aſſizes, to be holden in and for the county in which ſuch recognizance ſhall be taken reſpectively) to be of the peace and good behaviour for the ſpace of ſeven years ſave and except all ſuch as have been guilty of murder, conſpiracy of murder, burglary, burning of houſes, corn or hay, ſtacks of ſtraw or turf, maliciouſly digging up, or injuring, or deſtroying any potatoes, flax or hemp, rape or corn of any kind, planted or ſowed, or deſtroying meadows or hay, maiming or houghing of cattle, adminiſtring or cauſing to be adminiſtered any unlawful oath or engagement to any of his Majeſty's forces of any deſcription, or inciting or encouraging any perſon to commit any of the aforeſaid offences reſpectively, and ſave and except all perſons now in cuſtody.

Given at the Council-Chamber in Dublin, the 17th day of May 1797.

W. Armagh. Clare. C. Char. Caſhel. W. Tuam. Waterford. Drogheda. Weſtmeath. Shannon. Clanbraſſil. Altamont. Glandore. Portarlington. Farnham. Carhampton. Clonmell. Ely. Dillon. Gosford. H. Meath. Carleton. Yelverton. John Foſter. J. Beresford. Denis Browne. T. Pelham. Hen. Cavendiſh. J. Blaquiere. H. Langriſhe. Theo. Jones. Joſ. Cooper. James Cuff. George Ogle. C. Latouche. J. Monk Maſon. Arthur Wolfe. James Fitzgerald. Robert Roſs. S. Hamilton. Lodge Morres.

God ſave the King.

No. XI.

(Copy)

My Lord, Dublin Caſtle, 18th May 1797.

THE Lord Lieutenant and Council having judged it expedient to call upon his Majeſty's troops to exert their utmoſt force to ſuppreſs a ſeditious and traitorous conſpiracy of perſons ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen, I am commanded by his Excellency to tranſmit to your Lordſhip a copy of the proclamation iſſued on this ſubject, and to deſire that your Lordſhip will iſſue the neceſſary orders to the troops under your command in conſequence thereof; his Excellency has directed me to repreſent to your Lordſhip, that as the traitorous and treaſonable deſigns of theſe conſpirators extend to the ſubverſion of the Conſtitution and Government, it will be neceſſary to take meaſures of general precaution, ſo that the troops

may be prepared to act whenever it may become neceſſary to have recourſe to their exertions. In thoſe parts of the kingdom where theſe deſigns have been manifeſted by acts of open violence, it will be neceſſary to give the officers of his Majeſty's troops more preciſe directions for their conduct. In ſuch parts of the kingdom as have been diſturbed by nocturnal depredations, where the lives of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects have been endangered by perſons collected in arms attacking and firing upon their houſes, and where aſſemblies of perſons have been collected for the purpoſe of unlawfully cutting down trees or perpetrating other acts of outrage, military precaution ſhould be adopted for the ſecurity of the lives and property of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, and oppoſing by the moſt effectual means, ſuch daring acts of violence.

Diligent enquiry ſhould be made reſpecting any concealed arms or ammunition, and for pikes and pike handles, and upon information thereof, officers commanding parties ſhould be directed to ſearch for and ſeize the ſame.

Any perſons armed with pikes or other weapons in reſiſtance of his Majeſty's troops are to be conſidered as rebels and treated accordingly; all perſons exerciſing themſelves in the uſe of arms under perſons not holding his Majeſty's or the Lord Lieutenant's commiſſion are to be diſarmed and apprehended, and in caſe of reſiſtance to be treated as rebels; and as it appears to be a part of the ſyſtem of theſe conſpirators to take the opportunity of funerals and other occaſions to aſſemble conſiderable numbers of perſons, the officers of his Majeſty's army ſhould be directed in purſuance of this proclamation to watch all ſuch aſſemblies, and if from their number or other citcumſtances the public peace ſhould appear to be endangered, they will diſperſe them; and as various attempts have been made to ſeduce his Majeſty's troops from their duty and allegiance, you will direct all perſons of ſuſpicious appearance who ſhall come within the lines of any encampment, barrack or other ſtations of his Majeſty's troops, to be detained.

And his Excellency further deſires that your Lordſhip will from time to time communicate ſuch inſtructions to the officers of his Majeſty's troops, as you ſhall deem beſt adapted for carrying into effect his Excellency's proclamation, and as local exigences may demand.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,
Humble Servant,
THOMAS PELHAM.

The Earl Carhampton,
Commander in Chief,
&c. &c. &c.

No. XII.

(*Copy*)

Lord Carhampton's Orders.

IN obedience to the order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council, it is the Commander in Chief's commands that the military do act without waiting for directions from the civil magiſtrates in diſperſing any tumultuous or unlawful aſſemblies of perſons threatning the peace of the realm, and the ſafety of the lives and properties of His Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, whereſoever collected.

No. XIII.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

A PROCLAMATION,

CAMDEN,

WHEREAS we did, by our proclamation, bearing date the 17th day of May laſt, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, promiſe His Majeſty's pardon to all ſuch offenders thereby deſcribed, who, being ſenſible of their errors, and willing to return to their allegiance, ſhould, on or before the twenty-fourth day of June inſtant, ſurrender themſelves to any of His Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, being of the quorum, of the counties in which they ſhall reſpectively reſide, and take the oath of allegiance, and enter into ſufficient recognizance, with two ſufficient ſureties, if ſureties ſhall be required by the magiſtrate before whom ſuch recognizance ſhall be acknowledged, to be of the peace and good behaviour for the ſpace of ſeven years, (ſave and except ſuch perſons as have been guilty of the offences in our ſaid proclamation ſpecified.) And whereas many of His Majeſty's ſubjects have ſurrendered themſelves, and entered into recognizances, and taken the oath of allegiance, purſuant to the ſaid proclamation, and there is reaſon to believe that many others are deſirous to return to their duty, if the time for receiving ſurrenders and extending ſuch promiſe of pardon were enlarged.

Now we the Lord Lieutenant, being deſirous to extend His Majeſty's pardon to ſuch as are willing to return to their duty, do, by this our proclamation, by and with the advice of His Majeſty's Privy Council, enlarge the time limited by the ſaid proclamation,

for accepting ſuch ſurrenders, and taking ſuch recognizances, to the twenty-fourth day of July next enſuing the date hereof, and do promiſe His Majeſty's gracious pardon to all ſuch perſons as ſhall ſurrender themſelves to any of His Majeſty's juſtices of the peace (being of the quorum) of the county where they ſhall reſpectively reſide, and conform in all reſpects to the terms required by our ſaid proclamation, on or before the ſaid twenty-fourth day of July, in like manner as if they had ſo ſurrendered and conformed on or before the ſaid twenty-fourth day of June, with like exceptions as contained in our ſaid proclamation.

And whereas many of His Majeſty's ſubjects did, at the ſeſſion of oyer and terminer, holden on the 7th day of June inſtant, in and for the county of Antrim at Carrickfergus, and by adjournment at the town of Belfaſt, on the tenth day of June inſtant, before Barry Lord Yelverton, chief baron of the court of Exchequer, and Tankerville Chamberlaine, eſquire, one of the juſtices of the court of King's Bench, ſurrender themſelves, and take an oath of allegiance to His Majeſty, before the ſaid judges or one of them, or before certain juſtices of the peace for the ſaid county, aſſigned by the ſaid judges to adminiſter the ſame, but omitted to enter into recognizance purſuant to our ſaid proclamation.

Now we do, by and with the advice aforeſaid, promiſe His Majeſty's pardon, purſuant to the terms of the ſaid proclamation, to all perſons who took an oath of allegiance before the ſaid judges or either of them, or before any juſtice of the peace by the ſaid judges appointed to adminiſter ſuch oath, provided ſuch perſon ſhall, on or before the twenty-fourth day of July next, enter into ſuch recognizances, and procure ſuch ſureties as by the ſaid proclamation are directed, to be entered into by perſons ſurrendering themſelves purſuant to the ſaid proclamation.

Given at the Council-chamber in Dublin, the 22d day of June, 1797.

Clare, C. Char. Caſhel, Drogheda, Weſtmeath, Shannon, Clanbraſſill, Farnham, Dillon, Carleton, Callan, Yelverton, J. Beresford, T. Pellham, J. Blaquiere, Theo. Jones, D. Latouche, J. Monck Maſon, Arthur Wolfe, Robert Roſs, Iſaac Corry, S. Hamilton, Lodge Morres.

No. XIV.

The information contained in this number of the Appendix was received from Nicholas Maguan, of Saintfield, in the county of Down, who was himself a Member of the Provincial and County Committees, and also a Colonel in the Military System of the United Irishmen. He was present at each of the Meetings of which an account is here given; and from time to time, immediately after each meeting, communicated what passed thereat to the Rev. John Cleland, a magistrate of the said county. The person giving the information has since verified it upon oath before the Committee of the Lords; and Mr. Cleland has likewise sworn, that the papers presented to the Committee contain the exact information so communicated to him by Maguan.

Provincial Meeting of Ulster, 14th April, 1797.

		Guns.	Bayonets.	Piſtols.	Swords.	Pikes.	Ball C.
Antrim	22726	2948	1536	417	397	4888	24911
	Bullets.	lb. Powder					
	90943	1230	8 Cannon—1 Mortar - - -			£. 34	2 6

Down 28577 { The Reporter from the Military Committee having got an expreſs elſewhere, the number of arms did not appear

		Guns.	Bayonets.	Pikes.	lb. Powder.	Ball C.	Balls.		£.	s.	d.
Derry	10500	1277	416	1230	1319	8545	550	—	25	4	—
						Piſtols.					
Armagh	17000	1074	183	104	654	749	168	—	94	—	—
Monaghan	9020	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	51	7	5
								Yeomen.			
Tyrone	14000	950	—	2000	90	2263	437	423	—	—	—
Louth	5119	389	144	1400	30	2583	183	158	—	—	—
						24 Blunderbuſſes - -			22	15	—
Cavan	688	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	14	—
Fermanagh	2000										
Donegal	9648	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—
	116844										

Leinſter C. Return.

(Same Meeting.)

City of Dublin - - -	2662
Militia — —	1437
County ditto —	722
Kildare — —	850
Meath — —	2432

The number in the buſineſs is immenſe, though unacquainted with the ſyſtem or organization.

Reſolution of the Executive.

Reſolved, that all county delegates be prepared at the firſt provincial meeting to bring forward a plan for ſupporting the families of indigent perſons during their exertions in the field.

Reſolved, that it is improper to hold correſpondence with perſons out of ſociety.

REPORTS.

		£.	s.	d.
Lower Caſtlereagh	3000	4	11	5
Upper Caſtlereagh	1800	3	2	4
Kenallarty -	1000	3	8	3
Females -	50			
2 Kenallarty	1000			
3 Ditto	900	—	15	—
Ards — —	1500	3	8	3
Newry — —	1000	4	3	4
2 Ditto —	581	2	8	5
3 Ditto —	249			
Dufferin —	844			
Upper Iveagh	5225			
2 Ditto	1000			
3 Ditto	2204			
Lower Iveagh	4000			
Lecall —	900	1	0	7
2 Ditto —	574	1	3	3

		£.	s.	d.
Females - - -	50	—	10	—
3 Ditto - - -	300	1	2	0
Mourne - -	5200			
	28577	29	19	2

Several diviſions were deſtitute of caſh, having exhauſted themſelves in public ſubſcriptions.

Reſolutions:

Reſolved, that this Committee does prepare an addreſs to the people reprobating rioting or plundering; the ſame to be printed and circulated through the country in hand bills.

Reſolved, that we hear with great concern the diſaffection which prevails in ſome quarters reſpecting their money—we can aſſure them, that not one penny of their money has been expended any other way than that it was intended for. We would recommend it to the people to delegate ſuch perſons as they could place confidence in, and we will take care that ſuch perſons ſhall be from us as we perfectly depend in. We have had a great deal of trouble at the laſt aſſizes; the expence was immenſe—they have ended with honour to the people. From the abſence of the treaſurer of the Secret Committee who got an expreſs elſewhere, no other account can be brought forward than the following:

	£.	s.	d.
The money received by the treaſurer for the county was	822	2	1½
To counſel and witneſſes — — —	498	4	0½
The balance remaining — — —	324	1	9

Out of which, agents, priſoners, attornies, and clerks, are to be paid.

The above meeting conſiſted of delegates who repreſented Upper Caſtlereagh—Lower Caſtlereagh—-Kinelarty—-Dufferin—-Lower Ards—Lower Iveagh—Upper Iveagh—Newry—Lecal.

Reports and Reſolutions at a County of Down Committee held at the Houſe of James Armſtrong, Innkeeper, Ballynahinch, May 11th, 1797.

Reſolved, that our Delegation do demand in explicit terms the nature of the engagement with France; we think that men who have riſked their life and property in the ſupport of buſineſs ſhould be entruſted with ſuch

information, and that they be inſtructed to bring forward the buſineſs with or without ſuch aſſiſtance.

	£.	s.	d.
The money received at the county was	29	19	2

Out of which was voted twenty-two guineas to the following perſons:

	£.	s.	d.
Six perſons from Saintfield	6	16	6
A Highlander from Killinchy	1	2	9
From Lecall	1	2	9
Broom from Hillſborough	1	2	9
Four militia	4	11	—
Upper Iveagh	1		29
Ards	4	11	—
Ballynahinch	1	2	9
Three women whoſe huſbands were ſent on board the tender	3	8	3
	22 Gs.		

County of Down Committee held in Ballynahinch at the Houſe of James Armſtrong, Thurſday, June 8. 1797.

Copy of the Reports made thereat.

Coſts of the Law.

Counſellor	Curran	100 gs.
	Sampſon	50 gs.
	Ball -	40 gs.
	Dobbs	40 gs.
Attorney	Caddel	100 gs.
	Glenny	20 l.
	Wallace	100 gs.
	Frazer	50 l.
	Gaoler	10 gs.
	Two Aſſiſtants	20 l. each
	Sub-ſheriff	20 gs.
	Witneſſes	200 l.

Provincial Reports:

Ulster	Antrim	22816
	Down	30641
	Armagh	19042
	Derry	10500
	Donegal	3214
	Tyrone	12594
	Monaghan	10256
	Cavan	3807
	Fermanagh	3000
	Louth	5280
Leinster	City of Dublin	7230
	Co. Dublin	2918
	Kildare	12703
	Meath	7922
	Weſtmeath	20000

County Reports:

		£.	s.	d.
Lower Caſtlereagh -	3000	4	11	—
Females - - - -	46	—	7	8
Upper Caſtlereagh	1800	1	12	10
Kinellarty —	1000	4	11	—
Females - -	50			
2d ditto - -	1000	1	2	9
3d ditto - -	1000			
Dufferin - —	844			
Ards — —	2500	3	8	3
Newry — —	1000			
2d ditto ——	281			
3d ditto ——	249			
Upper Iveagh —	5225			
2d ditto —	1000			
3d ditto —	2484			
Lower Iveagh —	4000			
Lecale — —	900			
2d ditto —	1172	2	—	$2\frac{1}{2}$
3d dirto —	300			
Mourne — —	2500			
	30641			

Saintfield, 15th June, 1797, a meeting of Colonels (their names appear in the original) was held for the county of Down. Saintfield, June 17th, at the houſe of James Shaw, at four o'clock, Colonel ——— called the Captains of his regiment, and told them it was the determination of the National Committee to make a Riſing in the enſuing week, and deſired them to go home and cauſe their men to prepare their arms. He ſaid he had not the plan they were to act upon, but the Colonels were to meet the next day and he would receive the General's plan how they were to act, but he believed they were to cut off all the outpoſts, and to embody in diviſions, like to eight or ten thouſand men; and it was thought when all reſources were cut off from the camps, the general part of the men would turn over to us. He told the Captains to meet him there on Monday at ten o'clock, and they would receive further orders.

The Orders of Monday, June 19th, 1797.

The Captains to go home to their reſpective companies, and to meet their Colonel at James Woods, Innkeeper, at Knockbraken, on Friday morning, the 23d June, 1797, at 6 o'clock, and he would have further information, as the Colonels of the county of Down were to meet on Thurſday the 22d June. The Colonel ſaid the National Committee was ſitting theſe 15 days paſt, and will for ſome days more. The only thing that retarded the riſing at preſent, was the county of Antrim not being willing to riſe, 10,000 only excepted; but if they could get the county of Antrim to come properly forward, there was no doubt but the buſineſs would be put into execution. The only account from France is, that they will not be here before ſix weeks from hence, if then. He had the honour to ſay, that the Colonels of the county of Down were unanimous for riſing.

County of Down Meeting.

Belfaſt, Monday, July 10th, 1797.

Nine perſons preſent. (their names appear in the original.) A Provincial Delegate for the county of Antrim, ſaid there were 75,000 men at the Texel, who were poſitively coming to Ireland; that the Iriſh Delegates were warmly received by the Directory of France; that Lowry and Teeling were of the number of Delegates. He could not ſay exactly the time when the men would land in Ireland, but he would not think it ſtrange if they came in the courſe of a fortnight. He was poſitive, that at the preſent time there were two frigates reconnoitring the coaſt of Ireland. He

recommended it to the Delegates not to tell the lower orders of the people that the correſpondence was ſtill carrying on with the province, leſt that by that means they ſhould be detected as they had been before. He recommended each Delegate, to get and bring to the meeting, the number of fighting men in their reſpective diſtricts, and to obtain it by application to the ſeveral Captains, who could make known to them the effective number in each of their companies.

County Meeting.

Downpatrick, 22d July, 1797,

Five members preſent. (their names appear in the original.) Ordered, that before the next meeting, a perſon be ſent through the upper part of the county of Down, to try and bring that part of the county forward. A report was made from the Provincial Meeting, held on the 14th July, 1797; that the Provincial Meeting was thinly attended, there being only four counties repreſented, viz. Antrim, Down, Donegal, and Tyrone. The next Provincial Meeting to be held at Belfaſt, the 14th Auguſt next.

July 29th.

Meeting of Captains of the Drumbo Battalion, at James Wood's---five Captains preſent. They all agreed that their reſpective companies would act if the French ſhould land.

July 31ſt.

Meeting of Captains of the Liſſon's battalion, at John Shaw's---ſix Captains preſent. Same reſolution of the preceding of the Drumbo battalion; great fears were expreſſed at this meeting, of the catholics and diſſenters becoming two ſeparate parties.

Provincial Meeting.

Randalſtown, 14th Auguſt 797.

Five perſons preſent. (their names appear in the original.) Reports delivered, that the National Committee has diſſolved the Executive in May, and that the Executive had had then a plan of inſurrection, which they gave to the National, and that the province of Leinſter was to meet them in Dublin. The Provincial Delegates of Leinſter came to Dublin the time appointed, but the

Members of Ulſter, inſtead of meeting them at the time appointed, ſat in Belfaſt ſeveral days, calling the Land-jobbers of the province to ſee whether it was neceſſary or not, until the principal leading men were all attacked, and the Leinſter Delegates gone home, after waiting in Dublin four days. A few ſpirited men in Belfaſt, now ſeeing the buſineſs fruſtrated, ſubſcribed five hundred guineas to ſend a perſon to France; but not knowing what road to ſend him, or how to get him introduced to the Directory, they applied to a Member of the old Executive, and found the very perſon they had elected, was ſent ten days before by the Executive; it was alſo found, that the Executive had been a thouſand guineas out of their own pocket: from theſe circumſtances, the old Executive is elected into full power to act for the whole nation, and they think they can bring forward the whole nation yet, to act in a very ſhort ſpace of time, even in caſe the French ſhould be fruſtrated in making a deſcent, which they are perfectly aſſured is their intention at this very inſtant, as there is a regular communication ſtill carried on with them and the Executive. They reported, that there are a number of Societies formed in North America, whoſe object is to aſſiſt Ireland. The Executive acknowledges receiving the ſum of two hundred and eleven dollars from the ſaid ſocieties in the courſe of theſe eight days. From the preſent ſtate of the province, they were obliged to reſolve that each county ſhould raiſe money for the defence of its own priſoners, which they earneſtly recommend them not to neglect.

County of Down Meeting is held in two parties, leſt a large number meeting might excite ſuſpicion. One party (the upper part of the county) meet to-morrow, the 17th Auguſt, at Moſes Montgomery's, of Ballynahinch, innkeeper; the next meeting of the other party (the lower part of the county of Down) meet at Kean's, of Belfaſt, on Friday next, the 18th inſtant, Auguſt, 1797.

It was ordered, that certain perſons (named) ſhould apply to the moſt confidential perſons in Derry, Armagh, Cavan, and Monaghan, to come forward to repreſent theſe counties at the next Provincial Meeting.

This Provincial Meeting is to be held on the 14th September next, in the houſe of Mr. Samuel Thomſon, Scotch-ſtreet, Dungannon.

Report that no money is to be had from the people, the county Antrim excepted.

Provincial Committee.

14th September, Dungannon, at the houſe of Samuel Thomſon: Ten Members preſent (named in the original). Reports de-

livered (by a perſon named), that two Members of the Executive had met the Leinſter Delegates in Dublin, and had found that Leinſter was in a tolerable ſtate of organization, as alſo Connaught and Munſter, and there had been a great number of United Iriſhmen made, more ſince the Proclamation. They had alſo elected an Executive in Leinſter, which would co-operate with the Ulſter Executive. He ſaid there was a perſon juſt arrived from France; he brought word that the French had every thing ready for making a deſcent, and that the moſt part of the troops were on board; that our Delegates were along with them, and were to come from two parts, and that the Directory had given orders to their Admiral to proceed as ſoon as the wind would anſwer, and fight the Engliſh, and that the Dutch Admiral had got ſimilar orders. He ordered the people to meet in ſub-diviſions and be cautious, ſtill keeping up the correſpondence, and to have a look out for good horſes, as the French did not mean to bring any. Every man was aſked if he thought his conſtituents would yet act as formerly: general anſwer, they would, if they ſaw an equal chance. The Provincial Committee is to meet on the 14th October, in Mrs. M'Calls, Armagh.

The Executive of Ulſter and Leinſter, meet and act in the place of a National Committee.

County of Down Committee.

September 16th, 1797, Downpatrick.

The reports the ſame as at the Provincial. Four perſons appointed to act as a Committee for priſoners; they are to meet on Friday morning in Downpatrick, and to bring all the money they can collect; other perſons are to meet them, and to bring whatever money is left at Carrickfergus.

Provincial Meeting.

14th October, 1797, Armagh, (names of perſons preſent.) Reported that there had not been any information from our Delegate in France, further than that one of them had drawn a bill of 160l. on a Member of the Executive. The opinion of the Executive was, that the French ſhould have been here by this time, but they thought that the Britiſh Government had got into poſſeſſion of the plan of the expedition, which has fruſtrated them for ſome time, but they were ſure the French never would make peace until they had fulfilled their engagements with Ireland; there had been no meeting of the Executive of Ulſter and Leinſter, but they are to

meet againſt Monday eight days. The Executive requeſted that each county Delegate ſhould make a return of the number of the military, militia, and yeomen in their different counties, with their ſituation, where they were quartered, and how many were favourable and unfavourable, againſt the next Provincial Meeting, ſame place, Mrs. M'Call's, Scotch-ſtreet, Armagh, the 14th November next.

County Meeting.

October 21ſt, Downpatrick.

(Names of perſons preſent.

Provincial reports read, and a recommendation given to raiſe ſeventy guineas to pay Sampſon, M'Cready, and Glenny; Curran got three hundred guineas for Armagh, Down, and Antrim; Armagh is not yet paid; Wallace got forty guineas; Dobbs and Ball got two guineas each brief. A Baronial Meeting the ſame evening, held at James Shaw's, Saintfield, eight perſons preſent, (their names.) A perſon was at the meeting who had juſt arrived from Scotland; ſhewed a Scotch Conſtitution, which is word for word the ſame as the Iriſh, only the words, North Britons, put in the place of, Iriſhmen.

Provincial Meeting.

Nov. 14th, Armagh.

(Names of perſons preſent.) The following counties were repreſented, Tyrone, Donegal, Armagh, Monaghan, Down, Antrim; reports were given in; the Secretary took the number of the military in the different counties, and their places of quarters; cannot be exact in the number, as none were permitted to take notes but the Secretary; the general number in Antrim were four thouſand, out of theſe, friends to the people ſeven hundred; Down one thouſand one hundred, one thouſand of theſe friends; Tyrone two thouſand ſeven hundred, one thouſand of theſe friends; Armagh four thouſand two hundred, two hundred friends; Donegal two thouſand, ſeven hundred friends; Monaghan could not return the number. The different Delegates were aſked by the Secretary if they thought their counties could diſarm the military within themſelves, they all ſaid they could, except Armagh; the reaſon for taking this anſwer was, to give it to the Executive, that they might the better be enabled to form a plan for the people to act upon, in caſe the French ſhould land: he ſaid the Executive was in great want of ſome proper perſon to act in the county of Derry; he ſaid he had

the pleaſure now to tell them, there were four Executive Committees now in Ireland, namely, one in Cork, one in Galway, one in Dublin, one in Ulſter; He ſaid two members from each of them met laſt week, and the Reports from Leinſter Committee and Munſter were very good; he ſaid one of our Delegates had arrived from France; he ſaid we all knew the expedition which was at the Texel, deſtined for this country, had been put off, owing to the defeat of the Batavian Fleet, but the Directory was now preparing a more formidable expedition for us, which we might depend upon; he ſaid farther, that the Directory ſhewed great friendſhip to our Delegates; he ſaid the Executive recommended it to us to uſe every exertion in our power to open the lower Committees and Societies, and to collect what money we could from them, as the Executive was at a dreadful expenſe at the preſent, and money was the heart and ſoul of the buſineſs.

Provincial Committee meet the 14th at Mc. Dermon's in Randalſtown.

County Meeting.

Nov. 23d, Ballynahinch.

Nine Members preſent. (their names)

Reports the ſame as at the Provincial; one Member made a long ſpeech on the propriety of the people acting without the aid of the French, and was ſupported in this opinion by two others. (named) The treaſurer received the ſubſcriptions in the hands of the County Meeting.

Baronial Meeting.

Nov. 25th at Baily's Mill, (names of perſons preſent.) Adjourned to that day three weeks to Toddſtown. Next County Meeting, Saintfield Fair.

Provincial Meeting.

Dec. 14th, Randalſtown, Mc. Dermons, (names of the members preſent) the following counties were repreſented, Monaghan, Donegal, Armagh, Tyrone, Antrim, Down; Reports delivered, that the Executive Committee had not got any information from France ſince the laſt meeting, but that they every day expected the arrival of a Delegate; they were ſure the expedition was ſtill preparing for Ireland.

It was ſtated that the Executive Committee had advanced 137l. 8s.

for bringing thirteen prisoners from Belfast to Dublin, on the benefit of the habeas corpus act. They had also advanced 185l. 4s. for the prisoners trials in Armagh and Carrickfergus; and as they could not get money to defray the expenses, they had thought of forming a lottery, the benefit of which was to be applied to said purposes; the number of tickets 2000, one guinea each. Orders were issued to every county delegate to procure an exact account of the number of military, whether regular regiments, militia, or yeomen, and the quarters where they lie, and bring it to the next provincial meeting, as also how many of them respectively that can be reckoned on as friends; this is to be procured by the county members making application to the baronial members at the next county meeting, who are to make the returns for their respectivs baronies; in case the barony be not represented, or that he thinks additional friends necessary, he is to apply to some confidential, active, intelligent friend in the barony; the rule of reckoning on friends among military, &c. is, that in case the person sworn is an united Irishman, and has not taken any active steps against the body, or any of its members, out of the line of his profession, he is to be deemed still the friend of united Irishmen. A member took down the name of each Delegate present, and his direction, in order if any material news comes from France, previous to the regular meeting on the 14th January next, to write to them, and call an extra meeting. The former return of military, &c. was very lame and defective, and the Executive could not form a plan from it. It is necessary that this should be completely remedied, and the respective stations and quarters of the troops known to the Executive, to enable them to form the proper plan for co-operation with the French on landing.

County Committee.

Dec. 28th—Saintfield.—Twenty members present—(the names of all present, except one) The reports the same as those of the province. One constitution was voted to a member, to be given to parts of a ship's company lying in Belfast Lough, for the propagation of the general principle. The members for Down has come to a resolution to abandon the idea of a lottery for the payment of their present debt, and are about to establish a committee to meet at Ballynahinch on the 7th of next month, to deliberate on the means for accomplishing that purpose, independent of the county of Antrim. (Committee appointed, and their names.) The county committee has also resolved that each regiment, whose colonels have emigrated, shall have new ones appointed, in order that a meeting of colonels may take place as soon as may be after the next county meeting. There was also, same day, held a committee of the persons who had the prisoners in charge at the

laſt aſſizes. [their names.] Their account ſtates 53l. 9s. 10½d. deficient at laſt aſſizes. Three perſons named were to attend the national Executive on Sunday or Monday next, being the 7th or 8th January 1798.

A meeting was held on the 23d inſtant of the captains of the Knockbraken regiment in the houſe of James Woods; alſo a meeting of the Drumbo regiment on the 16th January in the houſe of Thomas Rainey.

Next County Meeting to be in Ballynahinch.

Ballynahinch.

7th Jan. 1791. Names of perſons preſent, nine in number. They reſolved that they would reject the lottety buſineſs as it encouraged the immorality of the people, and that they would exert themſelves to raiſe what money was wanting by ſubſcription, and that they would meet again that day four weeks ſame place. When the buſineſs of this meeting was nearly over a perſon [named] arrived, who ſaid he was deputed by the Executive Committee to ſhew them the propriety of admitting the lottery. He was aſked whether he would pledge his honour that the debts incurred by the county of Down would be paid out of the profit ariſing from it. He ſaid he would not as the profit ariſing would barely ſupport the Dublin trials. He then requeſted that they might get liberty to ſolicit individually, and after a long altercation it was reſolved that they might be admitted individually, but not to be conſidered as an official buſineſs of the county of Down.

Provincial Meeting.

14th Jan. held at Mc. Calls, Armagh, twelve members preſent; the following counties were repreſented---Tyrone, Armagh, Antrim, Down, Donegal. Firſt buſineſs done reſpected the lottery. One member had ſold 19 tickets for which he paid; another had ſold 42; Armagh Delegates had not ſold any. It was found that a member had reported in Armagh and Monaghan that the profit ariſing from the ſcheme was to be applied to improper uſes. It was then agreed to recommend it to the Eexecutive to poſtpone the drawing another month, and each Delegate to keep what Tickets he had, and exert themſelves to ſell as many as poſſible till that time. The number of the military in the different quarters in the province could not properly be aſcertained from their unuſual movements. The Delegates ordered to try it again. The reporter ſaid there had been a meeting of the National Committee, and it was found, notwithſtanding all the depredations committed

by the military, that the upper provinces were in a tolerable ſtate of organization. He ſaid that one of our Delegates had arrived from France. He told the meeting that it had been an intention of France to invade Ireland only, and that they were to have put that into execution in this month, but that the Directory had come to a ſecond reſolution that they would now fit out a more formidable expedition, and that they would invade the whole three kingdoms at once ; therefore from the magnitude of ſuch a great buſineſs we need not expect them as ſoon as we did. He thought they could not come until it would be far on in the Spring, ut he recommended to the people then preſent, and he thought that it was their duty to recommend it to their conſtituents to be cautious and ſteady, ſtill keeping up their organization, for the Directory had aſſured our Delegates in the moſt poſitive terms that they never would deſert us. He ſaid we had now eleven Delegates between Hamburgh and Paris.

Next provincial meeting to be held at Mc. Clean's, Shane's Caſtle, on the 1ſt February.

County Meeting.

18th Jan.--At M. Montgomery's Ballynahinch ten members were preſent. [their names]---Reports the ſame as the Provincial. Adjourned to the 4th Feb. alſo the committee for collecting money is to adjourn from Ballynahinch to Saintfield the ſame day.

Provincial Meeting.

Feb. 1ſt--- Shane's-caſtle---Mc. Clean's, nine members preſent. [their names.] The perſon who reported did not arrive from Dublin until three o'clock, and the ticket money was collected before he came. He dwelt a long time upon the ſucceſs we had obtained over government on the late trials in Dublin.---He then ſaid he would by Heavens, ſpeak his mind openly, for he was not afraid, as our delivery was now certain. He ſaid the national committee had met in Dublin that week, and that the upper provinces were all ready to act in a moment ; two regiments in one province had offered to deliver it ; he ſaid we had three Delegates arrived from France, and that the French were going on with the expedition, and that it was in a greater ſtate of forwardneſs than was expected ; but what was more flattering three delegates had been ſent from the United Britons to our National Committee ; and that from this very moment we were to conſider England, Scotland and Ireland all as one people, acting for one common cauſe ; there were legiſlators now choſen from the three Kingdoms to act as an Executive for the whole ; he then produced an addreſs which the Delegates of Britain

brought with them to our National Committee, and that was the reaſon he ſaid which made him ſo violent as he was certain we could now obtain Liberty although the French never ſhould come here; he told the Delegates to cauſe the men to hold themſelves in readineſs as the hour of action could not be far diſtant; and he deſired them to collect the names of all our enemies and their places of reſidence.

He further ſaid, that our higher (Ex) Committee had power to grant paſſports to any perſon of confidence to go to France, and that lands could be bought there now at a very low rate.

Some particulars which occurred at this meeting, given in on memory.

[That the county Antrim meeting was very reſpectable, being compoſed of better ſort of men, ſeemingly of ſubſtance, education and manners of gentlemen; a member in private converſation told that he thought the French expedition would be ready in about ſix weeks; told alſo that the reverend prieſt Quigley now returned to Belfaſt, and formerly of the county of Louth from which he had fled ſome time ago, was one of the Delegates lately returned from France, and that he and the Reverend Arthur M'Mahon of Hollywood, who fled from thence on the general apprehenſion in the county of Down laſt ſummer were the principal perſons who opened the communication with the United Britons.

The drawing of the lottery is poſtponed till after next Provincial Meeting by reaſon of the tickets not being ſold, but that then at any rate the drawing ſhall take place, and the tickets on hand will be taken at all chances by the Executive Committee of Ulſter, who are the whole and ſole conductors and contrivers of the ſcheme. The perſons formerly in cuſtody in the artillery barracks, and apprehended laſt ſummer, will not go to any of the public meetings from fear, but are very anxious to get the reports and hear the news.

No military returns could be made at the Provincial Meeting owing to the general movements of the troops, but the Members are inſtructed to make diligent enquiry and to try to get them.

United Britons, to the United Iriſhmen.

FELLOW-MEN,

Anxious to diſſipate thoſe prejudices which a miſtaken and intereſted policy has artfully diffuſed, to prevent an UNION of ſentiment and mutuality of opinion from being held by the people of England and Ireland; we in the name of the former, (with whoſe ſentiments we are acquainted, and whoſe confidence we poſſeſs) declare that we will by every poſſible means to promote the EMANCIPATION OF BOTH COUNTRIES. To forward this great object we offer you our confidence, and in return demand yours.

Though labouring under the yoke of the ſame oppreſſors, the Siſter Countries have been differently treated. Ireland has always been the object of direct and open violence, England of fraud; Ireland has been robbed, England has been cheated. One uniform plan, DIVISION, has been carried on in both. Sacrificed as Ireland has been to the ambition of England, the idea of her being treated as a FREE Country was too groſs to be obtruded upon the meaneſt underſtanding, but England, whoſe avarice was flattered by the deſpicable lure of excluſive trade, greedily ſwallowed the bait. She was taught to believe that Riches flowed upon her, while Poverty was ſecretly inſinuating itſelf into her very vitals.

Amidſt mock contentions for LIBERTY and real ones for plunder, She vainly imagined herſelf FREE, and was thereby induced to pay the intereſt of a Debt, of greater amount than the value of the whole Landed property of the Country without reflecting that Bankruptcy however late muſt be the conſequence of an over-ſtretched credit---THAT BANKRUPTCY HAS ARRIVED.

The Religious diſſentions between *Catholic* and *Proteſtant* in Ireand (whoſe opinions admit of a real diſtinction,) and the party ſquabbles between *Whig* and *Tory* in England (whoſe political ones admit of none) were aſſiduouſly fomented; the People were divided about the *ſhadow* till they loſt the *ſubſtance*. The plan of oppreſſion was ſyſtematically directed throughout both countries to the ſame object, though in apparent oppoſition. In Ireland Revenue was only raiſed to be laviſhed in unmerited penſions, without the inſult of pretended National advantage; in England the veil of fraud was neceſſary to cheat the people of large ſums under the plauſible pretext of public neceſſity. The undiſguiſed oppreſſions of Ireland, by rendering ſubſiſtence precarious to the Poor, have made her a conſtant hot bed for the ſattellites of Tyranny; but in England occaſional crops could only be raiſed when the flame of war unuſually forced the ſoil. This marked diſtinction in the treatment of the Countries, has produced as marked a difference in the characters of the two Nations; Ireland has acquired that of manly openneſs, England that of mean diſguiſe.

England though abuſed with forms has never been without ſincere friends to ſubſtantial LIBERTY. Among them a number of dark and deſigning characters have always intruded: and their conduct has furniſhed ſuch a tiſſue of apoſtacy, that general apathy had nearly ſucceded general diſtruſt.

Various political Societies nave been inſtituted for the purpoſe of REFORM, but of theſe, few could boaſt purity of Principles, or integrity of Leaders. Formerly *Richmond* headed the votaries of Univerſal Suffrage, *Fox* thoſe of Repreſentation by Houſeholders, and *Pitt* thoſe who wiſhed to diſfranchiſe the Corrupt Boroughs, to throw their proportion of Repreſentation into the Counties; but theſe have vaniſhed. The Society of the FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE,

and that for CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION, have discontinued their exertions. The LONDON CORRESPONDING, and other Societies in UNION with it, have arisen upon their ruins, and as universal good is their basis, we doubt not, but, supported by Numbers and Principles, they will not be wanting in the hour of danger.

The IRISH, always an heroic People, had, during the American War, become an armed Nation. They took up Arms for Defence, and undertook the cause of REFORM for Security. ENGLAND, likewise, engaged in the cause of REFORM, but her efforts were weak, as she had not endured sufficient to convince her of the necessity of UNION. The efforts of a number of eminent Persons in both Countries in the cause of FREEDOM, were insufficient, because Prejudice yet prevailed, and Men were not awakened to their just Rights and true Interests.

The Apostacy of several Leaders in the Public cause, added to the famous Coalition, smothered for a long time the flame of LIBERTY; 'till the FRENCH REVOLUTION again fanned its dying embers into a glow, which, we hope and trust, will never be extinguished.

The conduct of the two Countries, on this important event displayed a striking contrast. IRELAND, who by her arms, had extorted from the *English Governments* some fragments of her Rights, seemed ready in the same manner to demand the rest. ENGLAND, also, formed Societies, whose object was EMANCIPATION, but who hoped it might be obtained by *Reason*; Alas! they over-rated its force

The disarming Bills in IRELAND, the Treason and Sedition Bills in ENGLAND, and their consequences in both Countries, need hardly be mentioned. On the People they have brought Chains, on the Government irreconcileable Hatred. One good effect has, however, resulted from mutual Sufferings, and mutual Commiseration; the prejudice of Nations is done away and the ENGLISH burn with desire, to hail the IRISH, as *Free-men*, and as *Brethren*.

Our numbers are immense, our influence still more considerable, and our sentiments accord with yours. We are unthinned by the Tyranny of the Law or of the Sword; 'tis true, we have had our Fears and our Jealousies, *Spies* and *Informers* have been introduced amongst us, but all these have served only to point out more clearly the Men who are worthy of trust, and in these, whether Rich or Poor, we have the highest confidence.

Our DELEGATE is entrusted to lay before you our whole proceedings; we, therefore decline entering into particulars in the present Address. We have reposed confidence in you, and shall expect such a return as you may think our Integrity and Talents deserve. We doubt not but you will, with us, see the propriety of establishing unlimited confidence, or declining our interference as

fruitleſs. Should you think our ſituation, our influence, and our opportunities calculated to ſerve the Common Cauſe, rely upon our Diligence, our Zeal, and our Fidelity.

With beſt wiſhes, for the amelioration of the condition of Man, and hopes that your Exertions and Virtues, aided by an UNITED PEOPLE, WILL SPEEDILY EMANCIPATE YOUR COUNTRY; we remain in the bonds of BROTHERHOOD and UNION.

Your's Fraternally!

Friday, January 5th, 1798.

(Seal.)

County Meeting.

February 4th---Saintfield.

Seventeen members preſent. [their names] Reports the ſame as the Provincial. A treaſurer was appointed for the money committee, who received from the members preſent eighteen guineas. The money committee is to meet at Ballynahinch the 12th inſt. Principal members not being preſent at this meeting, nothing particular was done, except that Earl Moira's character was diſcuſſed at full length to know whether he was a man that could be depended upon or not by the people---It was agreed that he was as great a tyrant as the Lord Lieutenant, and a deeper deſigning one. A perſon who had fled from the country wrote to the Committee for their advice whether he ſhould come home again. It was directed that the opinion of counſel ſhould be taken upon his caſe.

County Committee to be held again in Ballynahinch on Thurſday the 1ſt March next.

Provincial Meeting.

February 27th. Armagh.

Thirteen members preſent. (Their names.)

The reporter ſaid we had a Delegate arrived from France, and that the French were uſing every endeavour to have the expedition for this country completed, and that our Delegate came home to cause us to put ourselves into a ſtate of organization to join them, as the Directory poſitively aſſured our Delegates that the expedition would set out for this country in the latter end of April, or beginning of May; he said that the Executive of this kingdom had answered a draft of five hundred pounds for our delegates which they meant to raise off the four provinces equally, and he wanted to know the beſt method of raiſing our quota.----

It was agreed it ſhould be raised in this province by voluntary loans---he said we had now fourteen Delegates in France, and that there had been held in London a meeting of all the Delegates of England and Scotland, but that we could not get their resolutions until our next provincial, which is to be held in the Moy in Sam. Greaves's, the 25th of March. He said the lottery could not be drawn 'till after our next meeting, as there were ſix hundred of the tickets unsold, and the Ulſter Delegates had taken them to Dublin to sell them there. The National Executive was at this very time ſitting in Dublin. He then presented the following directions, of which he caused every member to take a copy ; they were inſtructions how the different counties were to act :

INSTRUCTIONS.

The colonels in each county are to make out a liſt of the names of perſons to act as Adjutant Generals, to be ſealed up and returned through the medium of the Provincial, or any other authentic channel.

The Duty of Adjutant General.

They will make at leaſt monthly returns to the Executive through the medium of the perſon named to them for that purpoſe on the following ſubjects, and uſe every diligence to diſcover every thing within their county :

1ſt. The number, ſtrength, and arms of their regiments, and the qualifications of their officers; who of them have been in the army and have ſeen actual ſervice.

2d. What number of mills in their counties, and what average quantity of flour, corn, &c. they contain ſummer and winter.

3rd. The breadth and condition of the roads, depth of the rivers, height of their banks, where they have bridges or fords, impaſſable marſhes in ſummer and winter, and roads run through bogs.

4th. Beſt poſition to interrupt convoys going from the capital to the enemy's camps or depots, or from one town to another ; alſo the fitteſt place for the patriots to aſſemble or rally ; with a reaſoned detail of the advantages and diſadvantages.

5th. What number of towns and villages ; in how many where horſe and foot can be quartered in them ; whether the country has plantations to ſhelter the troops without tents, and where they can find ſtraw and forage.

6th. Who the beſt patriots are, and beſt fitted by intelligence and honeſty to be employed as commiſſaries.

7th. To communicate to the Executive every change of quarters, numbers of horſe and foot, ſpecifying whether natives or fo-

reigners, ſituation, nature of depots with regard to ſubſiſtence' ammunition, arms and money, and their nature and ſtrength.

8th. Thoſe in the maritime counties are charged on the firſt appearance of a friendly force upon the coaſt, but eſpecially on the moſt certain information being had of the debarkation of our allies, to communicate the ſame in the moſt ſpeedy manner to the Executive. They muſt then collect their force and march forward with as many of the yeomanry and militia as posſible; each man to be provided with at leaſt three days ſubſiſtence, and to bring along all they can of cars, draft horſes, harneſs, and horſes to mount cavalry, with three days forage; taking care to ſeize no where the property of a patriot, where an enemy can be found to raiſe contributions of,

County Meeting.

March 1, Saintfield.

Sixteen perſons preſent. (Their names.) Reports the ſame as at the Provincial. A conference was held on the beſt method of collecting Colonels, and it was agreed to ſummon ſuch as are in the country to meet in Belfaſt on Sunday the 11th: It was alſo ordered and reported to thoſe quarters where the Colonels had emigrated to chuſe new ones, and to call at (named) before the time of meeting, and he would tell them where it was. The county in general appears to be much elevated at the preſent reports, and very ambitious for officers.

Subſcriptions paid in.

Proceedings of ſeveral private meetings.

Money Committee met at Belfaſt 16th February. March 5th the County Committee was adjourned from Ballynahinch to Saintfield, as the fair being held in the latter place it was thought leſs dangerous. It is to meet again in Comber on the 5th April. There was a hard conteſt for the election of Provincial Delegate between four perſons; after three ballots two were elected.

Meeting of Colonels.

County of Down.

March 9th in the houſe of R. Kean, Belfaſt, eight Colonels preſent. (their names) They agreed to appoint three perſons to be Adjutant Generals (their names) and that an application ſhould be made to them accordingly to meet at Saintfield on the 23d inſtant.

Seven perſons accordingly met repreſenting ſo many regiments; others were admitted, as it is termed, to the honours of the ſitting; ſome alarm was felt by ſome of the members, and an Adjutant General was rejected; a deputation was ſent to invite another to ſuc-

ceed him, but this propoſal was not directly accepted of, this perſon had been bailed in the ſum of ſix hundred pounds, he heſitated therefore leſt this ſhould be forfeited---ſaid he would conſult his bails man, but at all events deſired them to return his name. The Colonels agreed that they ſhould divide into two meetings as it would be leſs ſuſpicious; accordingly the Colonels of one diviſion are to meet in Rathfryland on the 28th, and thoſe of the other in Newtown Ards on the 31ſt inſtant.

Provincial Committee.

25th March, Moy.

Eight perſons preſent, (their names) a Quaker, once a priſoner in Charlemont, introduced a Delegate from the Leinſter Executive who paſſed under a feigned name. From ſome alarm the meeting adjourned to Blackwater-town, there they were diſturbed by the appearance of a party of light horſe, and adjourned to Mc Call's in Armagh, where they did the buſineſs of the day. Some matters concerning the lottery were diſpoſed of, and it was ſaid that the drawing would take place the firſt week in April. It was then referred to the Leinſter Delegate to give the reports, he accordingly ſaid he was happy to tell them the Leinſter Provincial Committee was perfectly recovered from the ſhock; they were only four days from the time they were taken till they had the whole Province in a complete ſtate of organization; the Government had alſo taken three of the Executive, but there were three appointed in their place that very evening after they were taken. He ſaid the Leinſter Executive had delegated him to wait on us to anſwer ſome queſtions which he read from a paper; they were to the following effect: the number of the United Iriſhmen who would act if called upon; the number of arms; the number of military and militia, and how many good and bad, with a recommendation for the people to put themſelves immediately into as good ſtate of organization as poſſible, for that they had a Delegate arrived with poſitive aſſurance that the French would commence embarkation on the 1ſt of April, and that they would be all on board by the middle of the month and ready to ſail the firſt opportunity after. The paper alſo contained the ſtrength of United Iriſhmen in Leinſter both civil and military, it ſeemed to be exaggerated, but as it was not allowed to take a copy it cannot be accurately ſet forth; every regiment of military and militia was numbered, how many good and how many bad; the groſs number in Dublin amounted to about eight thouſand, three thouſand eight hundred of which it was ſtated would act againſt Government; ſome return was made of the numbers ſuppoſed to be diſaffected in ſome of the regiments of militia. The anſwers to his queſtions were but weakly anſwered; he ſaid that the National

Committee was to be held in Dublin on Tuesday, and it was the intention of the Executive that it should be composed of one man from each Executive and one man from each Province; their Executive was to meet the same evening, and he proposed to introduced whoever went from hence to them. The meeting then proceeded to elect a Delegate, the first chosen was a Colonel, but he excused himself on account of his other duties; the person appointed set out that night or the next morning for Dublin along with the Leinster Delegate, and was told who the Delegate was that should meet him in Dublin from the Ulster Executive.

Provincial Committee is to meet in Belfast, Sunday the 1st April.

Meeting of Colonels,

March 28th. Rathfryland.

Six Colonels attended. (their names)

Reports were given. The Colonels were asked individually whethey they were able to disarm the military within the bounds of their own regiments; they all agreed that they were. They were also asked the number of arms; they do not appear to be considerable.

Civil Committee.

29th March. Ballynahinch.

Eleven members present. (their names)

It was resolved that the same committee who acted in defence of the prisoners last assizes should again be requested to act in the same capacity the ensuing assizes, and that every exertion should be made to supply them with money, and that they are to meet in Downpatrick on Thursday the 5th of April. Civil Committee to meet on Friday the 5th.

Meeting of Colonels.

March 31st. Newtown Ards.

It was resolved not to transact any business in this place; a magistrate remarkable for his activity resided there, and it was not thought safe to hold meetings in his neighbourhood. They adjourned to Grey-abbey, and a person remained behind to send on there such persons as should come to the meeting.

Provincial Committee.

1ſt April. Belfaſt.

Eight members preſent. (their names) The following counties were repreſented. Derry, Antrim, Tyrone, Armagh, Down. Reported the names of the perſons whom the Executive has choſen from the names ſent to them to act as Adjutant Generals in Chief. They were appointed for Antrim, Down, Armagh, and Tyrone. The other Counties had not yet ſent in their liſts. The liſt for Derry a member promiſed ſhould be returned the next week; the ſame member was appointed to go through Donegal, Cavan, and Fermanagh, and to put them into a ſtate of organization; another member was ordered on the ſame duty in Monaghan. About two o'clock the Delegate who had been ſent to Dublin, arrived in Belfaſt; he informed the meeting that he had been very kindly received by the Leinſter Committee; that the Leinſter Executive had received a letter from Bartholomew Teeling, who is one of our Delegates in France, ſtating that the French troops would moſt certainly be on board by the middle of this month. He ſaid the troops from Breſt and that neighbourhood were determined to try to evade the Britiſh fleet, and to land in Ireland. Of courſe the Britiſh fleet would follow them round, and while thus drawn off, all the other troops embarked at other ports would make a deſcent on England. Whatever might reſult from this attempt, it was the fixed determination of the National Committee, in caſe the French ſhould be fruſtrated, that we ſhould of ourſelves make a riſing. He ſaid that the citizens of Dublin with the aſſiſtance of the army could ſeize the capital at any moment.

He informed them that the leaders in Leinſter were particularly active in organizing the Military Committees, as were alſo ſome of our Ulſter friends who are at preſent there. He named Mr. Samuel Neilſon in particular; he ſaid he was riding almoſt day and night organizing the people, and no perſon almoſt knew where he dined or where he ſlept; he named alſo of Belfaſt as being very active, on the whole he ſaid there were fourteen northerns now in Dublin, he ſuppoſed the moſt active men in the kingdom, acting for us; he ſaid we might expect one of the Leinſter Delegates at our next meeting, which muſt be very ſoon, as he was ordered on leaving Dublin to cauſe a meeting to be held in leſs than twenty days. No communication at the National Committee from the United Britons.

To meet at Campbell's Armagh, Tueſday the 17th inſt.

County Meetings.

April 6th. Downpatrick.

Twelve members preſent, [their names] Reports the ſame as at the provincial; no material buſineſs tranſacted.

Another county Meeting April the 20th, at Belfaſt, ſixteen members preſent. Three men were appointed to meet the upper half of the county, to chuſe a man to legiſlate for the county. Great reflections thrown out againſt the Money Committee for ſome of them not attending to give an account of the buſineſs of the laſt aſſizes.

County to meet on the 14th May, at N. T. Ards.

Provincial Meetings.

17th April. Armagh.

Adjourned, as a Delegate expected from Dublin had not arrived, met at Belfaſt 19th April.

A full meeting at Armah—repreſented Monaghan, Armagh, Louth, Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, Down, none from Antrim. At the meeting at Belfaſt a letter was read by the Reporter, written by the Delegate in Dublin, which mentioned that a letter had been received from one of the Delegates at Paris, dated the 24th March laſt, ſtating that there was an embargo on all the French ports, and that the expedition would be very ſoon ready, and that a meſſenger would be ſent to Ireland at leaſt eight days before it ſailed. That the Delegate in Dublin had waited three days longer, expecting his arrival. In caſe of the arrival of this meſſenger, an extra meeting is to be called.

The Reporter mentioned a letter having been received from a perſon in Liverpool, who is a Delegate there, ſtating that the French would not land for two months. It was aſſerted, that this could not be true. The Executive Committee of Leinſter, he told them, had all been taken up or baniſhed except three, and theſe three refuſed to act. In conſequence, he ſaid, twelve new ones, *he believed*, were choſen by this time.

He ſaid, in honour to the province of Ulſter, they were the only men who dared to act in the worſt of times. Had it not been for three perſons from Ulſter [named] the people in Leinſter had been completely diſorganized; therefore now, in his opinion, we could never act without the aſſiſtance of the French. It was reſolved,

that one man from each county ſhould be elected and added to the Executive, and their names returned at next meeting.

The lottery is not yet drawn, owing to two hundred tickets being lodged in Oliver Bond's hands at the time he was made priſoner, and two hundred of them ſent to London, of which there is yet no return of money or tickets.

Provincial Meeting.

May 10th.———Armagh.

Eleven members preſent [their names]. Reports given, that the meſſenger mentioned in the laſt reports was expected to have arrived before now, but is hourly expected: in conſequence of his not having come, the reporter had no information from France to give at this meeting: he ſaid, the Executive Committee of Dublin was changed three times in ten day, in order to get warm patriots and men of abilities who would lay a plan for the people to act upon. They had now laid a plan to take Dublin, Chapel-izod, and the Camp, and to ſeize on the Executive Government; he would not however ſay, that it would be put into execution, but he was ſure that nothing but the cowardice of the people would ſtop it at the moment of action, which he doubted would be the caſe. The Executive requeſt, that the reſpective county members would make a return of the military, diſtinguiſhing the number of friends and of enemies in the reſpective counties. He was deſired to take the names and directions of the ſeveral members, in order to be able to call an extra meeting as ſoon as the meſſenger arrived from France, or in caſe the ſaid plan ſhould be put into execution; it was the wiſh of the Executive that the members ſhould not abſent themſelves from their places of abode, but be in the way to receive a ſummons of an extra meeting: he ſaid that the Executive requeſted that the names ſhould be returned of the men choſen out of the reſpective counties that ſhould be added to the Executive to compoſe the National Aſſembly or Parliament. There were ſeven choſen, [their names] to wit: a ſilverſmith for Armagh, a preſbyterian clergyman for Tyrone, a probationer preſbyterian clergyman for Donegal, a farmer for Louth, an adjutant general for Derry, a cloth-merchant for Antrim, and a farmer for Monaghan; to meet the 29th May inſtant at Armagh.

Meeeting of Colonels.

Upper half of the county of Down, held in Harriſon's of Dromore---May 12th; thirteen colonels preſent. No particular buſineſs tranſacted.

Provincial Meeting.

May 29th——Armagh.

Nine members preſent, [their names] heard from the laſt provincial reports, that a plan of inſurrection was in contemplation by the National executive: two members were deputed from the Ulſter Executive to form ſaid plan, in conjunction with certain deputies from the other Provincial Executive; the plan was for Dublin to riſe and to ſeize on the Government, and the mail-coaches were to be burned for a ſignal for the whole kingdom to act. Theſe Delegates returned and reported the ſame to the Ulſter Executive; the reporter complained that the Ulſter Executive had taken no meaſures to put the people in readineſs to act; every application had been made to the Executive to call the adjutant-generals together, but without effect; they were required alſo to ſummon the provincial delegates together to put the reſpective counties in a ſtate ready to act, and that they did not obey; he thought they completely betrayed the people both of Leinſter and Ulſter, and he thought it the duty of the preſent committee to denounce and vote them out of office, and to take ſome ſpeedy and vigorous meaſures to ſecond the efforts of the people in the upper counties; they were accordingly voted out of office. The reporter then took a liſt of all the military through the province, and their places of quarters, as nearly as he could aſcertain: he then aſked the different delegates if they thought they could diſarm the military in their reſpective counties; Derry, Donegal, and Louth ſaid they could; Down, Antrim, Armagh, and the upper half of the county of Tyrone, thought they could not: he then aſked them individually, if they thought the people they repreſented would act, and they all ſaid they would, except Down. Its delegate obſerved, that he could not exactly anſwer whether it would or not, but he would try and aſcertain it by taking the ſenſe of the adjutant-generals and colonels: it was then reſolved that the adjutant-generals of Down and Antrim ſhould meet next day, and in caſe that the two counties would act, that they ſhould form a general plan of inſurrection, and that they ſhould ſend the ſaid plan by expreſs to the different adjutant-generals throughout the province, that they ſhould all act at the ſame moment; in caſe the inſurrection was not agreed upon they were to meet at Belfaſt on the 24th June; but it was generally the opinion that they were all to return to their reſpective occupations and induſtry, and not meet again and deceive the people any longer. The new addition of one member from each county to the executive are to meet in Banbridge on Monday the 4th June, and a printer in Belfaſt was to furniſh them with a printing preſs

for their uſe, to print and publiſh manifeſtoes, &c. when they ſhould take the field.

Meeting of Colonels.

May 31ſt——Saintfield.

Perſons aſſembled; [their names] repreſented ten regiments; they received the provincial reports, and generally determined to act; ſeveral meſſages paſſed between the different colonels as to this reſolution; a few days after this an adjutant-general reſigned, and at a meeting where twenty-three colonels were aſſembled, only two reſolved for action, and the other twenty-one declared they would not act on any plan but on the invaſion of the French, or ſucceſs to the efforts of the inſurgents about Dublin. They are to meet again on Tueſday next to elect a new adjutant-general, and to hear the ſituation of the other provinces. The adjutant-general for the county of Down propoſed to take up his head-quarters at Ballynahinch, and to remain there, and to make it the place of rendezvous for the forces of the county of Down.

On the 5th June, meſſages paſt between the adjutant-general of Down and the colonels; they urged the adjutant-general to put the county of Down in motion, or that if he declined it, they would find a man who could do ſo. A meſſage was received and delivered upon oath, that the county of Antrim intended ſeizing on the magiſtrates aſſembled in Antrim at the ſeſſions as hoſtages, at the beginning of their riſing. It was ordered that an expreſs ſhould be ſent to all the colonels of the county of Down, commanding them to collect their regiments as nearly as poſſible at the ſame time; at this time an account was brought that Doctor Dickſon was made a priſoner in Ballynahinch about nine o'clock yeſterday evening by Lord Anneſley's yeomen. At firſt it was reſolved to wait the reſult of the meeting of the new Executive at Ballymena on the 8th June; they diſperſed for the preſent, and concealed themſelves; afterward attempts were made to prevail on perſons to take the chief command. The people of Ballynahinch were of opinion they could reſcue Dickſon the moment the county meant to act, and it was their intention ſo to do.

No. XV.

Extracts from the Information of John Hughes of Belfaſt, Bookſeller, given upon Oath before General Lucius Barber, and ſince confirmed on Oath before the Committee of the Lords, and on his Examination before the Committee of the Commons.

SAYS, that in the year 1793 he was admitted a member of the 1ſt Society of United Iriſhmen in Belfaſt---that about July 1796 he became a member of a ſociety (which regenerated under the preſent ſyſtem) in Belfaſt---Robert Orr, then a Chandler in Belfaſt, adminiſtered the oath on his admiſſion---the oath he took is exactly the ſame as that ſet out in the printed Conſtitutions---ſoon after he formed a Society of United Iriſhmen himſelf at Belfaſt.---In the month of November 1796, Bar. Teeling, then of Dundalk, Linen Merchant, met him in Belfaſt, and aſked him if he could ſpare a fortnight or three weeks to go to Dublin for the purpoſe of extending the Societies there---he conſented---he did not receive any letters of introduction, but Teeling directed him verbally to call upon Edward John Lewins of Beresford-ſtreet, and to communicate with him---It was part of the ſyſtem to avoid writing as much as poſſible, and no perſon was employed in the confidential buſineſs or miſſions whoſe character was not a ſufficient voucher for him. He went to Dublin and called upon Lewins, who upon conſideration was of opinion that he could not be uſeful in Dublin as his acquaintance was very limited there---Whilſt he remained in Dublin he dined frequently with Lewins---the company at his table were generally clergymen and ſome of them foreigners---he thinks it likely they were prieſts. He returned to Belfaſt in December 1796---he did not attend the Societies from motives of caution, but ſpoke to the young men who were concerned in the day time, in the ſtreet, or when they called at his houſe to aſk his opinion---He continued ſuch cautions till ſhortly before the Lent Aſſizes 1797, when Mr. James M'Guchin, the Attorney, requeſted him to go to Dublin in order to get a licenſe for Counſellor Curran to be concerned for the priſoners then in the ſeveral gaols on the North Eaſt circuit charged as United Iriſhmen---His directions from M'Guchin were to get Curran down on as cheap terms as poſſible, but to get him down at all events. Believes the ſubſcriptions for county Antrim amounted to £700 and upwards, and the ſubſcriptions for county Down to £900 and upwards---The treaſurer for the county Down, Alexander Lowry, repaid him the money he had advanced---£50 which he had paid to Mr. Curran as a retaining fee, and about £200 that he had paid for licenſes for Mr. Curran---He underſtood then in every converſation that Down and Antrim were prepared to riſe and prevent

any capital conviction being executed-- At the Lent Aſſizes of Antrim or Down, Lowry and Teeling requeſted him to meet them in Dublin early in June following---He was not then informed of the buſineſs---a few days after he received a note urging the neceſſity of his going---the next day he went to Balealy, where the writer of the note informed him that he muſt go to Dublin for the purpoſe of meeting Lowry, Teeling and other friends, but that he muſt firſt take an oath not to mention the names of any of the perſons with whom he ſhould communicate in Dublin---He took the oath, ſet out for Dublin the ſame day, and arrived there ſome days before the 5th of June 1797---He met Lowry and Teeling, who then informed him that there was to be a national meeting in Dublin at that time of delegates from the different provinces, in order to receive a return of the ſtrength of the United Iriſhmen, and to determine whether an inſurrection would then be practicable, and Lowry and Teeling told him the reaſon they deſired him to meet them was to give his opinion of the ſtrength and readineſs of Down and Antrim---He ſaid his opinion was that as the people were in a great meaſure diſarmed, the majority of them would not riſe---Teeling ſaid his opinion was otherwiſe, and that Louth was anxious to riſe---Lowry ſaid Down was alſo anxious to riſe---Lowry and Teeling afterwards told him that the national meeting had taken place at *John Jackſon's* in Church-ſtreet, and that the Delegates had agreed to proceed to action---Teeling ſhewed him at his (Teeling's) lodgings in Aungier-ſtreet, a map of Ireland, on which the plan of the inſurrection was deſcribed, and the points marked to which certain numbers of men were to be brought---The Delegates left Dublin in order to raiſe their reſpective counties and to take the field. They collected the Colonels in each county in order to give them directions for bringing out their regiments---The Colonels of the county Antrim refuſed to come forward---The Colonels of the county Down agreed to bring their regiments forward---The other counties in Ulſter were diſinclined, and therefore the intended inſurrection did not take place---Lowry told him what had paſſed at the meeting of the Down Colonels, and he underſtood the reſult of the applications to the Colonels of the other Counties, from converſations with many people in Belfaſt at that time. While he was in Dublin in June 1797, Teeling invited him to breakfaſt one morning at his lodging in Aungier-ſtreet, where he told him he ſhould ſee more friends---He went there accordingly, and at breakfaſt there, and after breakfaſt on the ſame day in other lodgings which Teeling had in the Munſter hotel in Capel-ſtreet, the converſation turned upon the ſtate of the country, and the preparation and fitneſs at that time to begin the inſurrection. In the courſe of it the opinions of thoſe preſent differed. Some of them preſſed for commencing the inſurrection immediately, particularly Lowry, Teeling and M'Can. Some of the others were of opinion that

however Ulſter might be ready to riſe the other provinces were not in a ſufficient degree of forwardneſs for riſing---He left Dublin and returned to Belfaſt on or before the 14th of June. He attended a meeting at Randleſtown, which was held within about four days of that time. The meeting conſiſted of Teeling, Lowry, Robert Moore of Derry, Iron-monger, as he believes his chriſtian name and trade to be, and ſome other perſons---He attended ſaid meeting by the direction of Lowry and Teeling, to hear the report of the Colonels of the County Antrim---The firſt reſolution of the report as he beſt recollects was, that it was imprudent to act at that time without foreign aid, but that if the county Down would act, a part of the Antrim Colonels, who could bring out 9 or 10,000 men would act with them. The meeting broke up in conſequence of the diviſion amongſt the Antrim Colonels---The Rev. Arthur M'Mahon told the meeting that he had been ſent by the Colonels of the county of Down, to ſtate to the Colonels of the county Antrim, that they (of Down) were willing to riſe, and that he had delivered ſuch meſſage accordingly---A few days after, there was to have been a meeting of the leaders of the county of Down and Antrim at Ballinahinch, but they did not come; and Teeling and Lowry left Ballinahinch, determined to go to France, as it would not be ſafe for them to remain longer in the country. Did not attend any meeting from June 1797, till March 1798.

He has known the Rev. of for two years intimately---He ( ) called on him on Friday the 1ſt of June at his houſe in Belfaſt, and told him that the Colonels of the United Iriſh Regiments in the County of Down, had had a meeting in Saintfield on the day before, as had ſtated, that twenty three of them had agreed to fight and commence the rebellion, provided the County of Autrim and the other counties of Ulſter, as he believes, would act with them; and as he knew there was to have been a meeting of the Colonels of the County of Antrim that day (viz. 1ſt June inſt.) he ( ) wiſhed to know whether he had heard any thing from it---( ) ſaid he would go out to Mr. ———'s that evening, and requeſted that intelligence ſhould be ſent of what was done in the Antrim metting---He added, that he would go from Mr. ———'s to ——— where he was to preach on Sunday, from thence he would go to Ballinahinch, and remain there 'till Wedneſday, at the ſame time he told him that he ( ) was one of the Adjutant Generals of the United Iriſhmen's forces in the County Down, and that he intended going to Ballianhinch as it was a central place, from which he could iſſue his orders to his officers; He ſaid farther, that the reaſon of his ſtaying till Wedneſday was, that the Antrim Colonels had adjourned till the Tueſday, and that he could receive their determination in Ballinahinch the day following.

In February laſt, when the Priſoners were trying at the commiſſion, Prieſt Quigley introduced him to the younger Binns from England, thinks his name is Benjamin---Binns told he had diſtributed moſt of the printed Addreſſes "United Britons to the United Iriſhmen," and gave him a copy of it, and directed him to print an addition of them---He printed a thouſand of them---Mr. of Belfaſt, to whom they were ſent when printed off, paid him three Guineas for them.

The ſame Mr. ——— of Belfaſt, told him that he ( ) was appointed treaſurer of a lottery which was to conſiſt of 2000 tickets at one guinea each, the higheſt prize 300l., the profits to be applied to the general ſyſtem of United Iriſhmen: The firſt immediate want of money was to be made up, and ſupport witneſſes on the trials in Dublin.

No. XVI.

The following Information was given upon Oath, by Thomas Reynolds of Kilkea Caſtle, in the County of Kildare, who afterwards confirmed the ſame upon Oath before the Committee of the Lords, and likewiſe before the Committee of the Commons. Mr. Reynolds gave Evidence on the Trials of M'Cann, Byrne and Bond, who were all found Guilty, and on theſe occaſions he likewiſe confirmed the principal matters contained in the following:

THE voluntary information of Thomas Reynolds of Kilkea Caſtle in the county of Kildare, Eſq. who being duly ſworn on the Holy Evangeliſts, Saith that he was ſworn an United Iriſhman by Oliver Bond at his houſe in Bridge-ſtreet, Dublin, about two months after that Crhiſtn as on which the French were in Bantry Bay, which was about February 1797, and that Richard Dillon, Linen Draper of Bridge-ſtreet, Dublin, was preſent at his being ſworn in, as ſuch United Iriſhman by the ſaid Oliver Bond---And this Deponent further ſaith that he has been at three or four meetings of United Iriſhmen in company with the ſaid Oliver Bond at the Brazen-head, in Bride-ſtreet Dublin. That the firſt of thoſe meetings was about ten days or a fortnight after Deponent was firſt ſworn in, and that the others were held at the diſtance of about eight days from each other. And this Deponent further ſaith that the objects of the conſpiracy of United Iriſhmen are moſt decidedly thoſe of overturning the preſent government, of eſtabliſhing a republican form of government in its ſtead, of dethroning the King, and of aſſiſting the French in any invaſion they may make upon this kingdom to forward theſe views; that the intention of aſſiſting the French is not a neceſſary part of the Conſpiracy, as

many of the United Iriſhmen wiſhed to accompliſh a revolution in this country without the interveniſion of the French, but not being able to effect that purpoſe, they would join the French in caſe of an invaſion; that the above objects were thoſe that the ſaid Oliver Bond, and all thoſe who attended at any meeting of United Iriſhmen at which Deponent was preſent, had in view. And this deponent further ſaith that the above-mentioned Richard Dillon, John Cormick of Thomas-ſtreet, Feather-Merchant, —— Andoe, of High-ſtreet, and Hugh Wilſon, formerly clerk in Finlay's Bank, and who afterwards went to Cork, were preſent at thoſe meetings of United Iriſhmen, which Deponent attended at the Brazen Head in Bridge-ſtreet. And the Deponent further ſaith, that at one of thoſe meetings Oliver Bond related to the ſociety in the preſence of the above-named men and many others, a plan by which the United Iriſhmen could poſſeſs themſelves of the city of Dublin, and the ſtrong places therein, and particularly ſpoke of the ſeizure of the Parliament-houſe while the members were there. And this Deponent further ſaith, that at the laſt meeting that he attended at the place above-mentioned, the members of it ſeparated into different ſplits, that of the ſplit to which Deponent belonged, he himſelf became Treaſurer, John Cormick, Secretary, and Hugh Wilſon, Delegate, to go forward to the Baronial. And this deponent further ſaith, that the object of the ſplit to which he belonged was to hold communications with the people, in order to forward the principles of the United Iriſhmen among them, to effect a Revolution, and to prepare them to arm for that purpoſe---That each individual mentioned the number of arms and ammunition he poſſeſſed, from which the returns to the higher Societies were made. And this deponent further ſaith, the Secretary to the meeting at the Brazen Head keeps a hardware ſhop, next door to Wogan the bookſeller in Bridge-ſtreet, his name is M'Bride, and that Croſs the bookſellor was balloted into that meeting. And this deponent further ſaith, that he is certain, that the ſaid Oliver Bond is privy to the extent of the conſpiracy, becauſe on Lord Edward Fitzgerald's offering this deponent to become a Colonel in the corps of the United Iriſhmen, in the county of Kildare, ſaid Oliver Bond adviſed deponent very ſtrongly to accept of that Commiſſion. And this deponent further ſaith, that about the third or fourth time of his attending the meeting at the Brazen Head, about a month after his firſt admiſſion, he was delegated forward into the Baronial, that the Baronial was held at the Struggler's in Cork-ſtreet, that on going with John Cormick and Hugh Wilſon to the houſe, M'Cann as Secretary came out of the room, in which the Committee was held, to meet them, introduced the three delegates to the meeting, having firſt ſworn them as being duly delegated; that there were about thirty perſons preſent, that deponent knew of them only George Teeling and another, and that the reſt were low perſons;

that at one of the Baronial meatings, one Burgeſs, ſon to Mr. Burgeſs, linen-draper on the quay, brought up as delegate from the preſs-gang on the river very large returns from them of arms, of cannon, &c.---that the Baronial collected money from the inferior Societies---that he has paid in money himſelf, as Treaſurer to his ſplit; that deponent attended the Baronial two or three times afterwards, that none but low perſons were preſent---Deponent at this time was reſident in Park-ſtreet, Liberties, his father a ſilk manufacturer.

And this Deponent further ſaith, that at this period he quitted the conſpiracy for ſome time.---This Deponent further ſaith, that in November 1797, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, accompanied by Hugh Wilſon, met deponent upon the ſteps of the Four Courts, and told him that he wiſhed to ſpeak to him upon very particular buſineſs; that Deponent informed Lord Edward Fitzgerald he would be found in Park-ſtreet, if he called on him there---that Deponent and Lord Edward knew each other only perſonally, and that only from a purchaſe Deponent had been about in the county of Kildare from the Duke of Leinſter; that Lord Edward was walking with Hugh Wilſon, from whom he muſt have known of Deponent's connexion with the United Iriſhmen.---And this Deponent further ſaith, that on the next day Lord Edward Fitzgerald did call on Deponent at his houſe, and told him that he came to requeſt Deponent to become a Colonel for the Barony of Kilkea and Moon, in the county of Kildare---that Deponent had then purchaſed his place at Kilkea---that Deponent had ſome general converſation with Lord Edward, endeavouring to put him off---but that Lord Edward ſaid he would ſhare every danger with him, that he would ſtand or fall with him, and Deponent on this conſented to become ſuch Colonel---That Deponent ſaid to Lord Edward, he did not think the United Men could ſtand in battle before the King's troops, Lord Edward replied, *That* would not be altogether neceſſary, as aſſiſtance from France was expected, that then ſome of the United Men would certainly join in the French lines, and of courſe would ſoon become diſciplined; but as to the multitude, all they would have to do, would be to harraſs the eſcorts of ammunition, cut off detachments, and foraging parties, and in fine, make the King's troops feel themſelves in every reſpect in an enemy's country, while the actual battles would be left to the foreign troops; that Deponent ſays this took place in the month of November laſt---that Lord Edward then ſaid, that there was an honeſt man in the county of Kildare, Matthew Kennaa, who would call on and ſpeak to Deponent about electing Deponent Colonel---That ſoon after Lord Edward had ſpoken to Deponent, Deponent met Oliver Bond in Bridge-ſtreet, and told him of Lord Edward's application, repeating to Bond his reluctance to become Colonel; Bond uſed many argu-

ments to induce Deponent to accept of the appointment, and at length Deponent agreed, ſaying to Bond, "well, ſince you adviſe me ſo ſtrongly, I will comply with Lord Edward's deſire and accept of the employment." That Deponent went down to Kilkea, and remained ſome time there without hearing any thing, when in the latter end of January, 1798, Matthew Kennaa came to Deponent and aſked him if he would ſtand his election for Colonel, that Deponent anſwered, he would, for Lord Edward had been ſpeaking to him about it; Kennaa ſaid, "he knew Lord Edward had ſpoke to Deponent," and he then told Deponent he ſhould hold a civil, as well as a military employment, and aſked him which he would chuſe to be a Treaſurer or a Secretary; Deponent ſaid he would be a Treaſurer, as that poſt was much leſs reſponſible, and leſs troubleſome than the poſt of Secretary; Kennaa ſaid he was glad of the choice, and that he himſelf would go forward with Deponent as Secretary---That on or about the 15th day of February, Kennaa came again to Deponent, and told him he had been unanimouſly elected Colonel and Treaſurer, and that he (Kennaa) was choſen Secretary to the Baronial, and that the county Meeting was to be held the following Sunday, 18th February, 1798, at the Nineteen Mile-houſe, near Kilcullen, and told Deponent, he (Kennaa) would meet Deponent on the road at 8 o'clock on Sunday morning; that accordingly Deponent did meet Kennaa, and they rode to the Nineteen Mile-houſe together, and there they met the county of Kildare Committee---That an election for the officers of the Society was held---that thoſe elections came on every three months, that is, the beginning of February, the beginning of May, and ſo on, were the times---that there were preſent at the county Meeting, Matthew Kennaa, Mic. Reynolds of Naas, Mr. Flood, Mr. Daly of Kilcullen, Cummings, the Apothecary of Kildare, two perſons from Athy, one perſon from Narraghmore, another perſon belonging to Mr. La Touche's Yeomanry.---That Deponent expected to meet Lord Edward Fitzgerald there, as Kennaa told Deponent he had regularly attended the county Meetings; that Cummings came forward at the meeting and ſtated, that although Lord Edward had done ſo, yet being a marked man he declined attending for a time, and therefore reſigned his office of Treaſurer, and propoſed that a new one ſhould be eleeted——that on the election taking place, Cummings was elected to go forward to the Provincial, as Secretary, in the room of Mic. Reynolds: Deponent was elected to go forward as Treaſurer, inſtead of Lord Edward, and Daly was elected Delegate;---that about two guineas were paid into Deponent's hands as Treaſurer, made up of what was called three-penny money, from its being collected by three-pences from the inferior Societies---That the returns of arms, &c. were given in; that there was no report in Dublin; that there was little ſaid, the election having taken up

moſt of the time, and that the meeting was over about three or four o'clock---that Mic. Reynolds ſaid, that at 10 o'clock next day, Provincial was to meet at Bond's in Bridge-ſtreet, Dublin.---And this Deponent further ſaith, that as it would have been very inconvenient for him after four o'clock, to have gone from Nineteen Mile-houſe home to Kilkea, 15 miles, and then to Dublin, 35 miles, to be at Bond's by 10 o'clock the next morning, and to have gone on to Dublin without returning home, would have alarmed Mrs. Reynolds, he wrote a letter to Oliver Bond by poſt, excuſing himſelf from attending that meeting, promiſing to be in Dublin in the courſe of the week---which letter Bond afterwards told Deponent he did receive, and did accordingly lay before the meeting---That Cummings did not go, and Daly went alone; that this meeting at Bond's was on the Monday three weeks before the arreſt of the perſons at his houſe, that is on Monday the 19th of February, 1798. And this Deponent further ſaith, that on the Tueſday following, he arrived in Dublin with Mrs. Reynolds, and remained there for ſome time---that Deponent had never yet met any of his Captains, that he did not then know any of them, except Kennaa and Malone, a ſmith, whom he ſaw once with Kennaa---that Daly told Deponent he underſtood the Monday three weeks from the meeting at Bond's, was to be the next meeting day of the Provincial, and at Bond's houſe likewiſe---At this time, about the 25th February, 1798, Deponent travelled with Mr. Cope to Caſtle-Jordan, in order to obtain poſſeſſion of ſome lands to which they were jointly entitled, and during the journey, Deponent at the perſuaſion of Mr. Cope, on whoſe friendſhip and honour he had the moſt implicit reliance, did diſcloſe to Mr. Cope in part, the extent of the conſpiracy, and told him, that in order to enable government to counteract it entirely, he would procure a man who could get to the bottom of it, and detect the leaders; that in conſequence Deponent did, in the name of a third perſon, communicate to Mr. Cope for government all he knew of the plans and views of the United Iriſhmen, and particularly the proceedings of the meeting at Bond's of the 19th of February, 1798, which Deponent got from Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the intended meeting of the 12th of March, alſo at Bond's, which meeting was in conſequence apprehended.---That in order to procure more certain knowledge of the intended meeting of the 12th of March, Deponent applied to Bond, at whoſe houſe Daly had ſaid it was to be held; that Bond referred Deponent to John M'Cann, as the man who was to regulate that part of the buſineſs, and to give any information that might be neceſſary about it; that Deponent did apply accordingly to M'Cann, that M'Cann ſaid to Deponent, that unleſs he brought up the returns from the county Committee of Kildare, he could not be admitted to the Provincial, neither could he give him any information thereof, till he ſhewed to him ſaid returns---that on communication with Mr. Cope, he ad-

viſed Deponent to go down to his county, which he accordingly did.

That Deponent went down on the Saturday week before the arreſt of the meeting at Bond's, to Kilkea—that on the Sunday he went to Caſtledermott, where for the firſt time he met his officers, ſettled returns of men and arms, &c. that Kennaa acted as Secretary.—That the Officers preſent, whom Deponent knew, were Brannicks, two Germans, Malone, the ſmith, Cornelius M'Daniel, farmer, near Caſtledermott—That Deponent went to this meeting, merely to authorize him to get the returns to bring to M'Cann, that he called on Daly at Kilcullen, whom he knew had the returns, and who wrote a copy of them, and gave it to Deponent; that Deponent brought the returns up to Dublin, that he ſhewed them to M'Cann, and aſked him the time of the meeting of the Provincial, who ſaid it was very odd there was not any increaſe in the returns ſince the laſt meeting, and that the Delegates muſt be in town on the Sunday evening; that M'Cann promiſed to breakfaſt with Deponent on Sunday, 11th March, 1798, at his houſe, No. 4, Cumberland Street, and tell him all particulars as to the time and place of the Provincial Meeting.—And this Deponent farther ſaith, that he called at Oliver Bond's houſe on Saturday, that while he was there M'Cann came in and ſaid to Bond, that he muſt have a room from him for Monday, to which Bond anſwered, that M'Cann ſhould have the room he had laſt, or he ſhould have the little room—that another perſon was preſent when Bond ſaid this; that Deponent thinks the perſon like one Gallagher, a clerk to Moor, the ironmonger of Thomas-ſtreet; that Deponent ſuppoſed decidedly that Bond knew the purpoſe for which M'Cann aſked the uſe of the room.—And this Deponent farther ſaith, that M'Cann came on the next morning, Sunday, to breakfaſt with Deponent, that no particular converſation took place, as Mrs. Reynold was preſent; that Deponent after breakfaſt walked with M'Cann to the bottom of Church-ſtreet, who told him that at 10 o'clock on Monday morning he muſt be at Oliver Bond's, and deſired Deponent to be punctual, as particular buſineſs would be done,—That Deponent not wiſhing to be at the meeting, as he knew it was to be arreſted, wrote a note to Bond, which he ſent to Bond's on Monday morning, ſtating that Mrs. Reynolds was taken very ill, that he could not conſequently bring his money at the hour appointed, and begged him to make an apology for him to M'Cann on that account.—And this Deponent farther ſaith, that on the day of the arreſt of the perſons at Oliver Bond's, he underſtood that Lord Edward Fitzgerald went from Dr. M'Nevins's lodgings to the houſe of a Swadler in Aungier Street, named Kennedy, at No. 13 or 23, as Deponent thinks—Deponent met Lord Edward Fitzgerald at Leinſter-houſe ſome days before, believes on Sunday the 11th of March, 1798, with a

printed order for the Lawyers Corps to get Ball Cartridges, and keep their orders ſecret, in his hand, which Deponent was carrying to Mr. Cope to point out the impropriety of, and which, on Lord Edward's ſeeing, he ſaid "he was a marked man, that Govern-" ment wiſhed to ſeize him, and this order was meant againſt him, " that he wiſhed he could get to France, the communication from " thence having been lately interrupted; that he was very intimate " with Talleyrand Perigord, and if he was there, he could influ-" ence him to haſten the invaſion, for which the port of Wexford " would be the beſt fitted---That the French had a few remarkable " faſt ſailing Frigates, and that he thought the beſt plan would be, " to fill two or three of them with Officers and Iriſhmen, and perſons " capable of drilling men, and arms and ammunition, and run them " into Wexford; that he did not approve of a general invaſion, for " if the Grand French Fleet ſhould be beaten by the Engliſh, it " would ruin the cauſe; and if a partial landing could be made, " the Country would riſe and hold out, till ſupplies could be " thrown in from France."---That on the Wedneſday after the arreſt at Bond's, M'Cann of Grafton-ſtreet told Deponent that Lord Edward wiſhed to ſee him at 8 o'Clock ſame night, he brought Deponent to the houſe of [a perſon named in the original,] where Deponent ſaw Lord Edward, who ſaid he would write ſomething for the County of Kildare, and deſired Deponent to call on him the following evening at the ſame hour, in the ſame place; Deponent did call, and Lord Edward gave him a letter to the County of Kildare, in his own writing, deſiring them not to mind what had paſſed, it ſignified nothing, but to fill up their vacancies occaſioned by the arreſt at Bond's, as ſoon as poſſible, as the day was at hand when they ſhould be called into action, and they might rely on his being in his place on the day of need; he alſo told Deponent that he had in his hands £. 13 as Treaſurer to the Barony of Ophaly, and £. 32 as Treaſurer to the County of Kildare, which two ſums he would take care to have handed over to Deponent; and then Lord Edward went away from the houſe in diſguiſe, under care of a gentleman, who Deponent believes to be a Mr. Lawleſs, a Surgeon, but Deponent is not certain as to his name, not being very well acquainted with Mr. Lawleſs's perſon---And this Deponent farther ſaith, that the report of the Committee, a copy of which he gave Mr. Cope to forward to Government, was given him by Lord Edward Fitzgerald---that Deponent went down one day about 24th February, 1798, to the Black Rock, with Cummings and M'Cann of Grafton-ſtreet, Lady Edward's Apothecary, to dine with Lord Edward, where he found Hugh Wilſon, and that after dinner Lord Edward gave Deponent thoſe papers to copy, and to report to his County committee---And this Deponent farther ſaith, that two or three days after the arreſt of the perſons at Oliver Bond's, he was with Mrs. Bond, and that Neilſon, who was

there, ſaid that the people of Dublin were not like thoſe of the North, who, inſtead of flying about the ſtreets, would have quietly proceeded to fill up the places of the arreſted Delegates---And this Deponent farther ſaith, that he afterwards returned to the County of Kildare, that he was informed by Daly that the County meeting would be held at Bell's, on the Curragh, on the next Sunday, that Deponent attended, and that at the ſaid County meeting a reſolution was read, as if it came from Dublin, deſiring them to fill up the vacancies inſtantly, which were made by the arreſt of the Delegates at Bond's, in Dublin, and that the aforeſaid letter from Lord Edward Fitzgerald was alſo read---that Deponent gave in this letter at the meeting, that the letter was in the hand writing of Lord Edward, and was believed at the County committee to come from Lord Edward, and the ſubſtance of ſaid letter was handed all about the county as ſuch; that the ſaid letter was unſealed when Deponent received it from Lord Edward Fitzgerald; that Deponent received alſo from Lady Edward £. 13 for the Barony of Ophaly, which ſhe directed him to give to Daly, and alſo £. 32 as ſucceſſor to Lord Edward, as Treaſurer to the County Committee, which Lady Edward gave from an account on paper which ſhe read, that Deponent gave the £. 13 to Daly, through one Murphy, who called on Deponent at Kilkea for it, and of the £. 32 Deponent has £. 15 at preſent in his poſſeſſion, and the reſt he gave to Michael Reynolds, Mrs. Luby, and another perſon, who formed a committee on behalf of the priſoners to be tried at the Aſſizes at Naas; that Deponent was ordered to give Cummings, who is a priſoner in Dublin, any money he might want---that the County committee knew ſo exactly the ſum Deponent had received from Lady Edward, before his arrival that they mentioned his having ſix bad Bank Notes, which he was not aware of himſelf.

And Deponent further ſaith, that after this laſt mentioned County meeting, he had never been in Dublin, till brought there a priſoner; on Tueſday ſen'night after the arreſt at Bond's Deponent met his Officers, at which meeting Brannick ſaid that Germane had ſomething of importance to communicate, who being called in, ſtated that Mr. Caulfield of Levetſtown directed him to ſay, that if he was appointed to the joint command as Colonel with Deponent, he would join the United Iriſhmen; that on debating upon the propoſal, Germane was entruſted to inform Mr. Caulfield, that he ſhould have the joint command: That at the ſaid meeting it was propoſed that the ſeveral Officers ſhould take their reſpective Oaths, and that Deponent ſhould take his as Colonel, which he did, and the reſt took theirs; that from the breaking up of this meeting, Deponent has never met any committee. And this Deponent further ſaith, that ſome ſuſpicions has attached upon him as being the cauſe of the Provincial Committee having been ſeized, that he had heard ſo from Kenna, and

that it was in consequence of Deponent's communications with Mr. Cope, which Deponent endeavoured to explain away to Kennaa, to arise from his having had money transactions with Mr. Cope; that Deponent was coming to town with the above-mentioned patriculars to Mr. Cope on Thursday last; when at Naas he met with Flood, who said that the last county meeting was at the Nineteen Mile House, and a very full one, and said he supposed Deponent would be at the meeting on Sunday; that on Deponent's shewing an ignorance of the meeting Flood drew in, and would not say any more; that it was likely Flood might have heard of the suspicions of Deponent, and thought it imprudent to trust him. And this Deponent further saith, that upon this he went back to Kilcullen, that at the Nineteen Mile House he wrote a note to Mr. Cope, telling him that he could not be in Town for some time, the reason of which he could not commit to paper, but which when he knew it he would be satisfied with; that Deponent carried this letter to Kilcullen, and put it in the Post Office there, that he went home to Kilkea, and from thence to Castledermott; whence he was seized by the military, and carried to Colonel Campbell, who declined seeing him, and ordered him to gaol; that Deponent entreated to be permitted to speak with Colonel Campbell, or to be sent immediately to Dublin Castle, but that the guard were ordered to do their duty, and he was taken to Athy gaol---that Deponent wrote from thence to Colonel Campbell, requesting a few minutes conversation---his request was not attended to; that about 10 o'clock on Sunday, Deponent again solicited an interview, on which, after some delay, he was brought up, and stated the meeting of the County Committee that was to take place on that day, which being most likely over, he advised the seizure of the persons returning to their houses, which was accordingly made in part.— And this Deponent farther saith, that being escorted on his way to Dublin by a detachment of Mr. La Touche's yeomanry, he remarked the countenance of one of the Yeomen who were guarding him, as one familiar to him, that the man looked very earnestly at Deponent, and at last whispered him to be steady---that Deponent recollected before he got to Johnstown that the Yeoman was one of the County Committee with whom he had sat---that the yeoman took an opportunity of desiring the Deponent not to falter; as he had most important news; that upon this Deponent got leave to go into the necessary-house, to which the said yeoman was appointed to guard him, and there found an opportunity to whisper to him that there was to be a rising in ten days, and that that Mic. Reynolds came down from Dublin to inform them so.

No. XVII.

Paper copied by Mr. T. Reynolds from one in the Hand-writing of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and given by Lord Edward Fitzgerald to Mr. Reynolds.

The following Returns and Reſolutions, together with the Duty of Adjutant General, were copied from a paper in the hand-writing of Lord Edward Fitzgerald by him, and tranſmitted to Government previous to the arreſt of the meeting at Bond's. They are alluded to in Mr. Reynolds's information.

National Committee, 26th Feb. 1798.

Ulſter and Munſter made no new returns this time, but ſtate their former returns again of laſt Monday.

Armed Men.		Finances in hand.
Ulſter	110,990	£.436 2 4
Munſter	100,634	147 17 2
Kildare	10,863	110 17 7
Wicklow	12,895	93 6 4
Dublin	3010	37 2 6
Dublin City	2177	321 17 1
Queen's County	11,689	91 2 11
King's County	3,600	21 11 7
Carlow	9,414	49 2 10
Kilkenny	624	10 2 3
Meath	1400	171 2 1
	279,698	£.1485 4 9

Reſolved, that our thanks be returned to the ſeveral colonels for their effectual exertions in embodying and arming their ſeveral regiments.

Reſolved, that two delegates be ſent into Connaught by the Ulſter provincial, to organize that province.

Reſolved, that the Executive Committee be requeſted to account for the expenditure of 60 guineas voted to them.

Reſolved, that we will pay no attention whatever to any attempts that may be made by either Houſes of Payliament, to divert the public mind from the grand object which we have in view, as nothing ſhort of the complete Emancipation of our Country will ſatisfy us.

Reſolved, that each county who have not yet paid up their finances, ſhall be requeſted to pay 70*l.* except the county of Carlow, which ſhall only pay 40*l.*

Reſolved, that the Executive do take ſuch ſteps immediately as will tend moſt expeditiouſly to bring about a union of the four provinces, three only having as yet come forward.

Reſolved, that the colonels in each county ſhall make liſts of three perſons, to be tranſmitted, ſealed up, either through the province or any other authentic channel, one of which three will be nominated to the employment.

Reſolved, that the counties of Carlow, Meath, Wicklow, Derry, Down, and Antrim, deſerve well of their country, for their manly offer of emancipating her directly; but that they be requeſted to bear the ſhackles of tyranny a little longer, until the whole kingdom ſhall be in ſuch a ſtate of organization as will, by their joint co-operation, effect without loſs their deſirable point, which is hourly drawing to a criſis.

Duty of Adjutant Generals.

They muſt make at leaſt every ſecond week reports to the Executive, through the medium of the perſon named to them for that purpoſe, on ſuch or all of the following ſubjects, as they ſhall obtain any intelligence of, and be unremitting in diſcreet exertions to diſcover every thing within their county.

1ſt. The number, ſtrength, and arms of the regiments under their command, qualifications of their officers, which of them have ſeen actual ſervice, and have been in in the army.

2d. What number of mills in their counties, and what average quantity of flour and corn they contain ſummer and winter.

3d. The breadth and condition of the roads, depth of the rivers, heighth of their banks, where they have bridges and fords, form impaſſable marches in ſummer and winter, run through bogs, &c.

4th. The beſt poſition to interrupt the convoys going to the enemy from the capital, leading to their camps or depots, or from one town to another; alſo, the fitteſt for the patriots to aſſemble or rally in, with a reaſoned detail of the alledged advantages or diſadvantages.

5th. What number of towns and villages; how many horſe and foot could be quartered in them; where the country has plantations ſufficient to afford ſhelter to troops without tents, or where they could conveniently find fuel, ſtraw and forage.

6th. Who the beſt patriots, and beſt fitted by intelligence and honeſty to be employed as commiſſaries.

7th. To communicate to the Executive every movement of the enemy, every change of quarters, number of horſe and foot, ſpe-

cifying whether native or foreign, ſituation, nature and quantity of depots, and nature of their poſition.

8th. Thoſe in the maritime counties are charged on the firſt appearance of a friendly force on the coaſt, but eſpecially on certain intelligence being had of the debarkation of our allies, to communicate the ſame in the moſt ſpeedy and truſty manner to the Executive. They muſt then immediately collect their force, and march forward with as many of the yeomanry and Militia as poſſible; each man to be provided with at leaſt three days ſubſiſtence, and to bring on all they can of cars, draft horſes, horſes harneſſed, and horſes to mount cavalry, with three or four days forage; taking care to ſeize no where the property of a patriot where an enemy can be found to raiſe contributions on.

No. I.

Papers found in the pocket-book of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and in his poſſeſſion, at the time of his arreſt.

T. Keathy, Enverneſs Fencibles	50	with 1	Batt^{n} of
Salt, Londonderry —	47	1	
Naſs, Armagh —	250	1	
Green-Horſe	22		
Connell — —	—	1	
Clane, Armagh —	50	1	
Narragh Rab^{n} K^{s}. County M.			
Longford, 6th Dragoons, Louth M.	500	2	
Kilkea, Do. Do. Do.	500	1	
Killcullen, 9th Dragoons	80	0	
Tyrone	30		
Suffolk	50		
Orange Yeo^{n}	90		
Carbery, Inverneſs Fencibles	50	0	
Ophilia, Sundr^{s} -	600	2	
County ſundry returns	2319	with 10	Batt^{s} of
	1500		
	3819		

No. II.

50 Chains of 6 feet long, with 50 padlocks.
1000 Spike nails, 4, 6, 8 inches.
200 Round ſtaples.
20 Cramp irons, ⌐¬ in this form.
50 Large ſledges.
50 Small ones.
50 Hammers.
50 Groove irons.
100 Hatchets.
300 Shovels and ſpades, or as many as can be procured.
150 Hooks for ſcaling ladders, the catching point to have a hackle face.

No. III.

[*In the hand-writing of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.*]

Suppoſe R. force divided into 3 columns. The left *of the Kildare line* * to [column] to [aſſemble at] Cloncurry, or between it Clonard-bridge; a detachment to be ſent to Clonard-bridge, as ſoon as poſſible; that *body* [column] to advance by Kilcock, Maynooth, Leixlip, and Chapelizod, towards Dublin.

* The words in italics had a line drawn through them in the original.

Papers found at the Meeting at Bond's, on the 12th of March.

Found on John Lynch at the Meeting at Bond's; Hand-writing of William Michael Byrne.

The County W———^{w}. C——— inform their Conſtituents —that by the advice they have received from the Provincial, it appeprs that very flattering accounts have been received from abroad, which will, in a very few days, be officially handed down. The Provincial returns of men have only increaſed a *few thouſands* ſince the laſt reports—as the new County Members have not yet come in

—in consequence of the *new* Elections, which, each Barony will take notice, must be on or before the 15th February next.

The County Comm^e again earnestly recommend it to their Constituents—to pay no attention to any flying reports, as they know to a certainty, false emissaries are encouraged to disseminate such news as may tend to disunite or lead them astray.

The C. C. hear with regret the dissatisfaction of the Baronial Committee of Newcastle, with respect to their not being as yet fully supplied with Arms, &c.—They assure them that every exertion has been used to that purpose, and that quantities of P-ks are now ready manufactured for delivery; but would at the same time recommend to have as many made as possible in each Barony, as they will thereby come infinitely cheaper.

The County Committee cannot be accountable for any money in the hands of a Baronial Treasurer—and of course cannot account for any, but such as has been paid in to them, of which there appears a correct statement in the returns.

They feel with concern the apathy of their fellow-citizens of the Co. W. who refuse so small a pittance as *one penny* per man—to alleviate, in some degree, the distresses of their suffering brethren now in W. jail, where there are many innocent Cit. in want of the common necessaries of life; but who, though famishing, scorn to betray the *trust* reposed in them.

The County Com° inform their constituents, that, so far from having a fund in hands, they are now indebted to one of their members (No. 2.) who has kindly advanced 181. 4s. 2d. for the relief of prisoners: The County Members are therefore intreated to forward to *him*, without delay, as much money as can be collected in their respective Baronies; as there appears to be now in gaol—from Arklow Barony *four*—from Shillela *five*—from Ballinacorr *fourteen*, and *one* from Talbotstown *fifteen*—and from Newcastle *two*---in all *forty-two*, without the smallest fund for the ensuing m°.

Resolved, that a subscription be instantly commenced, for the purpose of forming a fund, for the employing and retaining Council, which shall be taken as a voluntary contribution, according to the circumstances of individuals---to be lodged in the hands of a *Treasurer* chosen by the County C°.

Resolved, that it is requested that the next meeting may be *fully attended*, as there is business of the utmost importance to be taken into consideration.

C. C. Jan^{y}. 22, 1798.

						Pd. prisoners.			
Tal.	2974	20	3	10	——			119	0	0
Low. D.	706	——	——	——	——	1st.	12 10 3	35	15	0
Ar.	2400	59	8	3	——	2d.	22 15 0	——	——	——
Rd.	1200	17	0	0	5 0 0	3d.	37 19 3	83	5	0
N. C.	1800	35	15	0	——	No. 2.	12 6 5	162	3	4
W. B.	1800	13	15	0	——		——	——	——	——
L. B.	840	8	2	0	——		85 10 11	245	8	4
Shil.	1080	7	19	3	$\frac{4}{6}$		——	85	10	11
	——	——	——	——		Rest to Province		——	——	——
	12800	162	3	4			——	159	17	5
		73	4	6	88 18 10		73 4 6			

	G.	P.	S.	B.	Ps.	B. C.	B.	lb. P.
Tal.	181	78	66	134	321	3331	8315	75
Ar.	265	85	68	87	200	400	8050	500
N. C.	158	41	20	32	355	——	5965	169
R. D.	185	94	62	75	380	980	500	17
	—	—	—	—	—	——	——	----
	789	298	216	328	1256	4711	22830	761
Ar.	210	75	62	} At				
N. C.	100	0	0					
R. D.	200	0	0	}				
	1299	373	278					

No. I.

Papers found in the Room at Bond's.

Hand-writing of John Macan.

I, do solemnly declare, that I came duly elected.

No. II.

Hand-writiag of John Macan.

19th February, 1798.

Kildare	10863	In Treaſurer's Hands	20	18 3
Wicklow	12095			
Dublin	3010		20	0 0
Do. City	2000			
Queen's Co.	11689			
King's Co.	3600			
Carlow	9414			
Kilkenny	624			
Meath	14000			
	67295		40	18 3

Reſolved, that the Colonels in each County ſhall make out a liſt of three perſons to be Adjutants-General for ſaid Counties. The liſts to be tranſmitted, ſealed, either through the Provincial, or any other authentic channel to the Executive, who will nominate one of the three to the employment.

Reſolved, that our Treaſurer be allowed to pay 16 guineas to the delegate for to buy a horſe—which, when the entire County is organized, is to be ſold, and the money paid back into the hands of the Treaſurer.

Reſolved, that the Ex Comm^{e} be requeſted to account for the Expenditure of 60 guineas voted them.

Reſolved, that each Co. who have not paid in any finance, ſhall be requeſted to pay in 70l. immediately, except the Co. Carlow, which only pay 40l.

Privates Test.

Hand-writing not known.

I, *A. B.* do ſolemnly declare, that I will perform my duty, and be obedient to all the lawful commands of my Officers, while they act in ſubordination to the duly-elected Committee.

Hand-writing of John Macan.

Reſolved, that we will pay no attention whatſoever to any attempt that may be made by either Houſes of Parliament, to divert the public mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing ſhort of the compleat Emancipation of our Country will ſatisfy us.

No. III.

K.	10863	In Hands		20	18 3
W.	12095				
D.	3010	£. 32		20	— —
C. D.	2000				
Q. C.	11689				
K. C.	3600				
C^{w}	9414				
K^{y}	624				
M.	14000				
	67295			40	18 3

Ten in the Morning this Day three Weeks.

No. IV.

Hand writing of John Macan.

Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that if the other Ps. be in an equal ſtate of preparation as Lienſter, as ſoon as we can procure the information of their ſtate, and their determination to act in concert with the Nation, we ſhould immediately proceed to act;---and that the Exe^{ve} be requeſted to take ſuch ſteps immediately, as will tend moſt expeditiouſly to bring about an Union of the different prov^{s}.

Reſolved, that the Select Com^{e} of five be requeſted to prepare a Military teſt to be laid before the Prov^{l} at their next Meeting for their approbation.

Extracts from the Pocket-book of John Macan, found at Bond's.

P. C. [Provincial Committee.]

20th February, 1798.

Kil	10863			
Wicklow	12895	£.	20	18 3
Dublin	3010	-	-	20
Do. City	2177	—		104 6 5
Queen's Co.	11689			
King's Co.	3600			
Carlow	9414			
Kilkenny	624			
Meath	14000			
	68272	£.	145	4 S

Subscriptions :

	Febr^{y}. 9th, 1798.		Feb^{y}. 16th.	Febr^{y}. 23.		
No.	8	8				
1	1	1	6½	6½		
2	1	1	6½	6½		
3	2	8½	6½			
4	1	1	6½	6½		
5			6½	1	1	
6			6½			
7	1	1	6½	6½		
8			6½	6½		
9	2	8½				
10	1	1		2	8½	2 2
11	1	1				6 6
12			6½ & 2	8½		
			3	9½		
£.	1	0 7	1	7 1		15 2

C. C. [County Committee.]

February 19th, 1798.

1	812	28	8	11	} [Four divisions of the City of Dublin.]
2	865	19	15		
3	500	9	13	6	
4		46	9		
	2177	£. 104	6	5	

D. C. 2d March.

					In hands	£. 1 16	$0\frac{1}{2}$
No. 1	118	4	11				$6\frac{1}{2}$
2	118	3	19	$7\frac{1}{2}$			$6\frac{1}{2}$
3	84		12				
4	72						$6\frac{1}{2}$
5	120		2			4	4
6	99	1	15			3	3
7	50						
8							$6\frac{1}{2}$
9		1	12	$10\frac{1}{2}$			
10	80	1	6	9			$6\frac{1}{2}$
11	70	1				4	4
12	115	1	11	9		1	1
13						1	$7\frac{1}{2}$
14						2	$8\frac{1}{2}$
						£. 2 16	4

D. C. 8th March, 98. B. C. [Baronial Committee.]
5th March, 1798.

No. 1	118	4	3	$6\frac{1}{2}$	12	£. 2 17	5
2	118	4	3	3	12		
3	48	1	0	6	12		
4	72				12		
5	120				12	13	
6	105	1	15	2	10		
7	107		14		12		
8	89	12					
9	86	3	8	3			
10	118	2	4	9	8	15	
11	102	1	13				
12	115	2	11	6			
13	86	1	7	8			
14	84	3	7	8			

Extract of a letter found upon Oliver Bond, ſigned H. W. (Hugh Wilſon) and dated, Cork 6th, 1798.

I have been ſo cooped up ſince I came here, that had I known the ſituation of the place, my mind ſhould never have been ſo abominably cloſeted, for any emolument that I may derive before a change of the preſent government takes place.

You can but faintly imagine how things are going on here; give the people but a little time, and reſt aſſured the progreſs ſcience is making will aſtoniſh the world. The enemies of the human race are much alarmed, and the revolt of the Dublin County Militia has increaſed their fears. Mr. Finlay ſays, they are all aſſaſſins, and he is almoſt afraid to truſt himſeif with them. I hear they are to be diſperſed among the Highlanders through the country. Numbers of preachers of the true Goſpel are better than few, and thoſe diſperſed grains may not fall on rocky ground.

When the news came this morning of the Spaniſh fleet being out, the Ariſtocrats ſeemed happy, ſaying, their doom was at hand, Jervis being after them.

With beſt regards to Mrs. Bond and all friends,

I am ſincerely yours,

H. W.

No. XX.

Evidence of Captain Armſtrong on the Trial of Henry and John Sheares.

The Witneſs ſworn and examined.

Q. Pray, Sir, in what profeſſion are you?
A. I am a Captain in the King's County Militia.
Q. Are you acquainted with Mr. Henry or Mr. John Sheares?
A. A am, with both of them.
Q. Do you ſee theſe gentlemen in Court?
A. I do.

Q. Point them out.

A. That is Mr. Henry Sheares, and that is John Sheares, I believe.

Q. You know theſe two perſons?

A. I do.

Q. Can you tell when you firſt became acquainted with either of them?

A. The firſt time was *Tueſday*, the 10th of *May* laſt.

[*Here the Witneſs produced ſome papers.*]

Q. What papers are theſe?

A. Some notes I took of the buſineſs as it happened.

Q. In your own hand-writing?

A. Yes.

Q. Then you have a right to look at them. Can you recollect how you happened to become acquainted with?

A. I came to town from the camp about buſineſs, and went into Mr. Byrne's ſhop—After ſome converſation, he aſked me, Did I know Mr. Sheares? I aſked him, Was it Sheares, the lawyer?

Q. What camp did you ſpeak of?

A. The camp of Lehaunſtown.

Q. Was your regiment quartered there?

A. My company was quartered there.

Q. Where was Byrne's ſhop?

A. In Graſton-ſtreet: I do not know the number.

Q. What did Byrne propoſe?

A. He aſked me, Had I any objection to meet Mr. Sheares? I ſaid, I had not.

Q. How long had you been acquainted with Mr. Byrne the bookſeller?

A. I believe I have known him about two years.

Q. What was the nature of that acquaintance you had with Mr. Byrne? Was it familiar or otherwiſe?

A. I knew him as my bookſeller, whoſe ſhop I much frequented: I was there almoſt every day.

Q. Do you recollect any particular deſcription of books which you were in the habit of purchaſing from him?

A. I uſed to purchaſe every political pamphlet as it came out, and other books I fancied.

Q. Do you recollect what was the particular occaſion of his aſking to introduce you to Mr. Sheares?

A. I did not know his purpoſe.

Q. But you were ſpeaking about ſomething?

A. I was not ſpeaking at the time; he followed me out.

Q. You had been ſpeaking;

A. I had, but do not recollect.
Q. There were other people there?
A. There were.
Q. He followed you out, when he made that propoſal?
A. He did.

Q. Did you take any particular meaſure in conſequence of that propoſal?

A. I did: I went to look for Captain Clibborn, a man upon whom I had dependence, and who I knew was in town: he was my particular friend.

Q. Was that before you met either of the Mr. Sheares's.
A. It was.

Q. *(By the Court.)* Was that immediately after you left Byrne's?

A. It was, my lord.
Q. Did you ſee Mr. Clibborn, whom you went in queſt of?
A. I did.
Q. What did you do?
A. I told him what had happened, and aſked him for his advice.

Q. I preſume you mean, what had happened between you and Byrne?

A. I do, Sir.

Q. Can you recollect what advice he gave you, or what you determined to do?

The counſel for the priſoners objected to this queſtion.

Q. Did you come to any determination?
A. Capt. Clibborn adviſed me to give them a meeting.

Q. The reſult of your converſation was to give the Mr. Sheares a meeting.

A. It was.

Q. Mention, whether you were ever introduced to the Mr. Sheares, or either of them, in conſequence of this propoſal, or not?

A. Upon my return to Mr. Byrne's late, I waited until the elder Sheares arrived.

Q. *(By the Court.)* That is Henry?
A. I believe ſo, my Lord.

Q. What paſſed upon the arrival of Mr. Henry Sheares?
A. Mr. Byrne introduced me to him in the inner ſhop.
Q. Do you recollect in what manner or form he introduced you?

A. He only mentioned my name; but ſaid, that if we had a mind to chat, we might go into the room inſide the inner ſhop.

Q. Recollect whether any thing elſe was ſaid by Byrne in the preſence of Mr. Henry Sheares?

A. He opened the door, ſhewed me in and ſaid, "All I can "ſay to you, Mr. Sheares, is, that Capt. Armſtrong is a true "brother, and you may depend upon him."

Q. Be ſo good as to call to your recollection any thing that may have paſſed upon that interview between you and Mr. Henry Sheares; you have a right to refreſh your memory by your notes. —At what time did you take them?

A. I took a ſheet after every interview I had with the gentlemen.

Q. Mention the import and ſubſtance of what paſſed.

A. Henry Sheares told me, that what he wanted to ſay to me, he wiſhed to ſay in the preſence of his brother.

Q. *(By the Court.)* Did he ſay this in the preſence of Byrne?

A. No, my Lord, in the private room, when we were alone.

Q. Do you recollect any thing worthy obſerving to have paſſed that day?

A. I told him I had no objection to wait till the brother came.

Q. When did you again hold converſation with him?

A. In a very ſhort time after the other Mr. Sheares came to the ſhop.

Q. After he came, where were you?

A. We were introduced pretty much in the ſame manner as before.

Q. Do you mean by Byrne?

A. Yes.

Q. He introduced you to John alſo! Mention then what paſſed?

A. He told me he knew my principles very well—

Q. *(By the Court.)* Who told you that?

A. Mr. John Sheares.

Q. Were you at this time in the inner room again?

A. Yes.

Q. And the door ſhut?

A. I believe ſo.

Q. *(By the Court.)* Did the brother Henry go in?

A. No, my Lord, I had ſeparate interviews with them.

Q. Did Mr. Henry Sheares go away?

A. He did, before John came, and did not return that day.--- John ſaid, he knew my principles very well---that he was emboldened by that knowledge, and the preſſure of events induced

him, for the good of the cauſe, to make himſelf known to me, and to ſhew me how the cauſe could be benefitted by my joining the cauſe *in action*, as he knew I had *by inclination*.---I told him, I was ready to do every thing in my power for it.

Q. Meaning the cauſe?

A. Yes---And that if he ſhould ſhew me how I could do any thing, I would ſerve him to the utmoſt of my power.

Q. Did he ſtate to you in what manner you could ſerve this cauſe to which he thus alluded?

A. He ſaid, that as I was willing to ſerve it, he would tell me at once what I could do---He told me, that the riſing was very near---that they could not wait for the French, but had determined upon a home exertion; and that the principal manner in which I could aſſiſt them, was by ſeducing the ſoldiers, and bringing about the King's County Militia, and conſulting with him about taking the camp.

Q. *(By the Court.)* What Camp?

A. The camp at Lehaunſtown I underſtood, where I was quartered. And that for the purpoſe of bringing about the ſoldiers, he would recommend me to endeavour to practiſe upon the non-commiſſioned officers and privates, who were of the Roman Catholic religion, as they were moſt likely to think themſelves aggrieved. I do not recollect any thing more of the converſation that day, except our appointment to meet the Sunday following.

Q. Did he mention an appointment for that day?

A. He did.

Q. Where?

A. At his houſe.

Q. Where was that?

A. In Baggot-ſtreet.

Q. Did he tell you?

A. Yes; for I did not know it till then---On the Sunday following I went to his Houſe, and the elder only was at home.

Q. That was Henry.

A. I believe ſo; I only knew them at that time by the diſtinction of elder and younger.

Q. Do you recollect the number of the houſe?

A. I do not

Q. Upon which ſide of the way is it?

A. On the right hand going out of town, his name was upon the door.

Q. What paſſed?

A. I had a repetition of a good part of the converſation with Henry, that I had had upon the former day with John.

Q. Mention what you particularly recollect?

A. He told me, that he underſtood his brother and I had converſed together---he apologized to me for not returning to me to

Byrne's, for that there was a committee ſitting that day, which it was neceſſary that one of them ſhould attend.

Q. Did he mention what that committee was about?

A. He did not. He aſked me as to the ſtate of the regiment, and the camp; where it was noſt vulnerable, and the number of troops ſtationed there---he queſtioned me as to the poſſibility of taking it by ſtorm, or by treachery, or by uſing the counterſign, or ſomething of that kind---I do not recollect any thing farther till the Priſoner came in.

Q. *(By the Court.)* This converſation was before John came in?

A. It was.

Q. Do you mean to ſay, you do not recollect any thing more ſaid by Henry?

A. Except a repetition of what John had ſaid. John aſked me, whether I knew any United men in the regiment---I ſaid, not.

Q. Was that in the preſence of Henry?

A. It was. He ſaid, he thought I could make good men of the Soldiers.

Q. Which of them ſaid that?

A. John:--- I ſaid, I ſhould be afraid to commit myſelf with any of them; but if I knew them, I ſhould then do what I could in concert with them. He ſaid, he believed he could inform me of ſome I might depend upon---he told me, it was their intention to ſeize the camp, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the City of Dublin in one night.

Q. *(By the Court.)* Whoſe intention?

A. *Ours* was his expreſſion: I underſtood the United Iriſhmen. ---He ſaid, there was to be one hour and a half between the ſeizing of the camp and Dublin, and an hour between ſeizing Dublin and Chapelizod, ſo that the news of both might arrive at the ſame time. He told me, if I would call at eleven at night, he would give me the names of ſome men in the regiment.

Q. What regiment?

A. My own regiment.

Q. *(By the Court)* That meeting was in the morning?

A. In the morning before dinner.---At the meeting in the evening, he told me, he had not been able to obtain the names for me; but that a man would call upon me in the camp to whom I was to give a paſs, and that I might converſe with him upon his return without reſerve.

Q. Recollect, if you can, whether any thing more particular paſſed about the cauſe in hand.

A. I do not recollect any thing on that day.

Q. Who had the command of your regiment?

A. Col. L'Eſtrange.

Q. Did you ever communicate to any perſons what paſſed at theſe interviews?

A. I returned to the camp immediately after each interview, and communicated the buſineſs that paſſed to Col. L'Eſtrange and Capt. Clibborn---Sometimes I communicated it to Lord Caſtlereagh and Mr. Cooke. On Wedneſday the 16th, the Colonel was ſurpriſed, that no man had called upon me, he requeſted I would go to town and find out the reaſon: I came to town, and as neither of the Mr. Sheares's was at home, I left word, that I would call between five and ſix o'clock. I called between five and ſix, and was ſhewn into the library at Mr. Sheares's houſe.

Q. At the ſame houſe?

A. Yes: the younger Sheares came in, told me he wiſhed to introduce me to a gentleman with whom I might conſult and adviſe in his abſence, as he muſt go down and organize Cork; he ſaid he had not been able to find out the names I wanted in the regiment--He ſaid, the riſing in Cork was to be in ſuch a manner, that the news might reach Dublin at the ſame time with the news of riſing in other places and that he was only waiting for the Executive to fix the day.

Q. *(By the Court.)* Was the news of the riſing in Cork to reach Dublin at the time of the riſing there?

A. Yes.

Q. *(By the Jury.* Where was the Executive? Who were they?

A. I do not know; he did not explain, and I aſked him no queſtion.

Q. What did you underſtand?

A. The Executive Directory, who were ſitting in Dublin in the ſame manner as other committees were ſitting. Mr. John Sheares appointed me to meet him next day, and that he would introduce me to that gentleman.

Q. Had you ſeen Henry at that meeting at all upon the 16th?

A. Not at that time. I went there next day, Thurſday 17th, and met both the brothers.

Q. At the ſame houſe?

A. Yes, the ſame houſe. I do not recollect any converſation of moment, until the gentleman came. I was introduced to him as to a Mr. Lawleſs, a relation of Lord Cloncurry: That was the name he was introduced by.

Q, Was there any other preſent?

A. None but the two brothers.

Q. He was introduced as the perſon Mr. John Sheares had been ſpeaking of the day before?

A. I underſtood ſo. Mr. Lawleſs told me, he had been preſent ſome time before at a meeting of deputies from all, or compoſed of almoſt all, the militia regiments in Ireland; at which meeting, he ſaid, there were two of our men; he did not know their

names; but that if I would call between five and ſix upon Mr. Sheares, he would leave their names with him for me.

Q. *(By the Court.)* Were the Mr. Sheares's preſent at this converſation?

A. They were both preſent, my Lord. He ſaid, he would obtain the names from a man, who had been very active in making United Iriſhmen, and who had been very active in making ſome in every regiment that had been in Dublin for two years paſt.

Q. The two priſoners were preſent at that meeting?

A. Both were preſent on that day. The elder ſheares told me, that the corps throughout Ireland were completely organized, and had all their Captains and Adjutants appointed. I called that evening to get the names which Mr. Lawleſs was to leave for me. I was ſhewn into the library, where Mr. John Sheares was in converſation with a man. Upon the man's going away, Mr. John Sheares gave me this note, which was to be a note of introduction to a Serjeant in our regiment, intimating to him, that I might be depended upon, and ſaid he got it from the man he had been ſpeaking to.

Q. *(By the Jury.)* Is it in Mr. Sheares's hand writing?

A. I do not know.

Q. Is it directed?

A. It is directed to Serjeant Connors.

Q. Is there any other Serjeant of that name in your regiment?

A. I believe not.

Q. Before you quit Mr. Lawleſs, do you recollect any expreſſion relating to the camp, or the neighbourhood of it?

A. I do; he remarked, that the trees to the right of the camp would be very convenient for hanging people.

Q. *(By the Court.)* Was that in the preſence of Mr. Sheares?

A. It was, my Lord.

Q. Have you in your recollection any direction given by Mr. Lawleſs or the Mr. Sheares's, as to what ſhould be done at the time of the attack, or the line of conduct to be purſued?

A. Yes, my conduct was to be this:---I was to erect a ſtandard upon the night to be fixed upon for the attack upon the camp, which was to be joined by all whom I had previouſly known to be United Iriſhmen; that no other perſon was to be ſpared, and they were not to be given the option of joining at the time of the attack. He gave me the name of a private, Pat. Fennan, at the time he gave me the note, and appointed me to meet him the Sunday following, when he would introduce me to more friends of the cauſe.

Q. Did he ſay any thing reſpecting Fennan?

A. I underſtood, that Fennan and Connors were the two deputies whom Lawleſs mentioned.

Q. *(By the Court.)* From whom did you underſtand that?

A. Lawleſs had mentioned, that he would leave their names with John Sheares; and thoſe were the means which Mr. John Sheares gave to me. On Friday, I could not find Connors; but on Saturday I gave him the note, and aſked him, Did he know the man named in the note; it was Arthur Hill—he told me he did.

Q. What is become of Connors?

A. He is in confinement, I believe, in the Caſtle guard-room.

Q. He has been made a priſoner?

A. He was, about the 20th of May.——He ſaid he would call upon me for a paſs.

Q. Dtd you call upon Mr. Sheares again?

A. I did, upon Sunday the 20th of May. I found the elder Sheares at home. I told him what had paſſed between Connors and me, and that he would not know me.

Q. That is, would not open himſelf to you;

A. Yes: He ſaid he was much ſurprized at that, but attributed it to his caution; and he recommended caution to me, for that he and his brother eſcaped by their caution, for Government then thought them inactive. He ſaid there was a man at that time with Connors at Lehaunſtown, and that I ſhould find no difficulty in converſing with him upon my return to the camp. The younger Sheares produced a paper, upon which appeared to be written names, by way of memorandum--among them were three more names of our regiment.

Q. *(By the Court.)* Did John come in?

A. He did.—I do not recollect any converſation more of moment with Henry:—John came in and Henry went out—then John produced the paper---he mentioned the names as if reading them from the paper, and three of them correſponded with three ſerjeants in our regiment.

Q. *(By the Court.)* What did he ſay of them?

A. He told me they were men I might depend upon as United Iriſhmen, and he mentioned their names to me as ſuch.

Q. Is there any thing elſe in your recollection?

A. He told me he had that day called at Lawleſs's, and that he believed he had abſconded, for he was denied to him. He ſaid that a man had been out at the Camp on Saturday looking for me, to give me a letter, but could not find me. I aſked him the contents; he ſaid it was no matter, as I was then there, I would hear of it. He ſaid, the Executive Directory had directed him to tell me, they had come to a reſolution to appoint me to the command of the King's County regiment.---He ſaid I might promiſe to every man in the regiment that would join me, a portion of land in the King's County. He told me, that on the night of the riſing in Dublin, the Lord Lieutenant was to be ſeized, and all the Privy Council, ſeparately

in their own houſes.---This converſation was in the preſence of the elder.

Q. *(By the Court.)* What part of the converſation?

A. All ſubſequent to his ſaying that Lawleſs had ſecreted himſelf. ---He ſaid that when the Privy Council were all ſeized, there was no place to iſſue orders from, ſo as to counteract the riſing, and that in caſe of a failure of the attack upon the Camp, on the march of the ſoldiery into the town through Baggot-ſtreet, they had a ſufficient number of houſes in Baggot-ſtreet in their intereſt, to ſhoot them from, ſo as to render them uſeleſs; and that he expected throughout Ireland, that the Militia regiments would join, from the accounts they had received of them: --that ſeveral men of the different regiments had promiſed different numbers, ſome ten men, ſome twenty, ſome thirty, and ſome one hundred, provided they had ſufficient notice:--but that if they were called out with their officers, nothing could be done, as the other regiments would be too ſtrong for them.

Q. This was mentioned by John Sheares, in the preſence of Henry?

A. Yes.

Q. He told you that the riſing was to take place ſoon?

A. He did.

Q. Did he mention any reaſon?

A. He did, the country was tired with the proſecutions, and that the people threatened, if the riſing did not immediately take place, they would take the oath of allegiance, and give up their arms. The elder Sheares told me, that he had had a ſervant, who was the greateſt coward he ever ſaw; but that he had been particularly active in making United Iriſhmen, particularly ſoldiers; but had quit him through fear, and gone to Cork.---I do not recollect any thing further.

Q. Did you communicate the laſt converſation to any perſon?

A. Continually, every one:---I never had an interview with the Mr. Sheares's, that I had not one with Colonel L'Eſtrange and Captain Clibborn, and my Lord Caſtlereagh.

Q. Where have you been ſince that time?

A. I have only been in Wicklow and Wexford, and the county of Kildare.

Q. Did any thing happen to you?

A. I was wounded in my foot, at Slievebuy mountain, where I was with Colonel Walpole. I could not go to my regiment, being ordered by Lord Caſtlereagh not to leave town; I volunteered, and had the command of the grenadier company in the Londonderry Militia, where they behaved in the moſt exemplary manner.

Q. Did you ſee either of the priſoners after they were arreſted?

A. I ſaw the younger.

Q. Where?

A. In the officer's guard-room at the Caſtle.
Q. Do you recollect upon what day he was made a priſoner?
A. The morning after the laſt converſation.
Q. Did any thing paſs between you?
A. He aſked me if his brother was taken? I ſaid I did not know. He aſked me if his papers were ſeized?---I ſaid I did not know.---He ſaid he hoped not, for there was one among them that would commit him.

Croſs-Examined by Mr. CURRAN.

Q. What countryman are you?
A. An Iriſhman.
Q. What part?
A. The King's County.
Q. How old are you?
A. I believe between 27 and 28.
Q. Have you any heredit ry fortune?
A. Every thing I have is hereditary.
Q. Then you have hereditary fortune?
A. I have hereditary fortune, which qualifies me to be a Captain in the King's County Militia, otherwiſe I would not be one.
Q. Do you mean to ſay that your eſtate is not diminiſhed, or waſted?
A. Since I came of age, do you mean?
Q. Yes, Sir?---
A. Certainly not.
Q. Had you ever been in any military ſituation before you were in the King's County Militia?
A. I had.
Q. Where?
A. In ſeveral places.
Q. Mention as many as you recollect?
A. I have been quartered———
Q. You miſtake me, Sir,—I mean, had you been in the army?
A. I was in the Engliſh Militia.
Q. In what regiment?
A. In two; the Somerſet, and the South Middleſex ſupplementary.
Q. Do you recollect how you came to quit the Somerſet?
A. I do.—Having buſineſs in Ireland, and not being able to obtain leave of abſence.
Q. Have you always, when you talked of the ſubject, mentioned that as your reaſon for leaving the Somerſet Militia?
A. I do not recollect having given any reaſon.
Q. I want you to ſay poſitively upon your oath, whether you did ---or whether you do not recollect?

A. I do not recollect that I gave any other.
Q. Then you do not ſay you did not?
A. I do not believe I ever did.
Q. Do you ſwear poſitively?
A. I cannot ſay; but I believe I did not; and that was the reaſon.

Q. I aſk you, will you venture to ſwear poſitively, that you never did give any other reaſon for your leaving the Somerſet?

A. I cannot ſwear poſitively to what I may have ſaid in jeſting; ---It is not impoſſible; but I believe I did not, and that was the reaſon.

Q. I beg you to recollect.—Did you in jeſt, or otherwiſe, give any other account of your leaving the regiment?

A. I cannot ſwear poſitively; but I do not believe I ever did: It is ſo very trifling a thing; I might have ſaid, I did not like quarters, or ſome ſuch thing.

Q. How long after did you go into the South Middleſex?

A About a year, I believe. I do not exactly recollect the time the Supplementary were called out. I had a friend in London, who put down my name, knowing I was unemployed and would like it.

Q. I aſked you, Sir, and you ſaid you did believe in the exiſtence of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. I aſk you now upon the oath you have taken, have you always profeſſed that belief?

A. Always.

Q. I wiſh to have your anſwer correct and preciſe. Do you ſay you always profeſſed it?

A. I do and did.

Q. From you education, you ought very well to underſtand the moral obligation of an oath. I preſume you have often reflected upon it?

A. I have often thought of it; I hope with great reſpect.

Q. By virtue of your oath, have you ever expreſſed any other ſentiment than reſpect of the obligation of an oath?

A. Never to my knowledge.

Q. Will you ſay upon your oath, that you never did upon any occaſion deliberately ſay, that an oath ought to be binding ſo far, and no longer, than it was convenient?

A. Never.

Q. Did you in any manner deride the moral obligation of an oath?

A. I believe not.

Q. Do you know a gentleman of the name of Bride?

A. I do.

Q. Have you been in company with him?

A. Very often.

Q. Did you in his company deride the moral obligation of an oath?

A. I do not recollect.

Q. Were you in his company within the laſt ſix months?

A. I was.

Q. Were you in the College with him?

A. I was.

Q. In whoſe chamber?

A. I do not believe I was in any chamber with him this ſix months.

Q. Were you any time before that?

A. I have been in chambers with him.

Q. In whoſe chamber?

A. Mr. Browne's.

Q. Do you ſpeak poſitively?

A. I do.

Q. Within how many months?

A. Within a year.

Q. Was Mr. Bride there?

A. I could not be in company with him if he were not there.

Q. O, I forgot, I believe my queſtion was as to your being in company with him.——Do you recollect any converſation in that company touching the ſubject of an oath?

A. I do not.

Q. You will be the beſt judge yourſelf whether you can undertake to give a poſitive anſwer to my queſtion.——Will you upon your oath ſay, that you did not in that company expreſs any contempt or deriſion for an oath?

A. I am confident I never did.

Q. How long were you in the South Middleſex.

A. I do not know exactly, for I never ſaw my commiſſion.

Q. You mentioned that you had been much in the habit of buying political pamphlets from Mr. Byrne?

A. I ſaid ſo.

Q. Had you been much in the habit of talking upon ſuch ſubjects?

A. Of politics, do you mean?——Yes, I was.

Q. Had you been much in the habit of expreſſing your own political ſentiments touching the ſtate and affairs of your own country?

A. I generally uſed to chat there: when buying a book, I had ſome converſation about it.

Q. I do not mean to confine you to the time of buying a book, but genetally?

A. Very often--.When in company I uſed to ſpeak upon that as upon other ſubjects.

Q. I ſhould be glad to aſk, if you can recollect, whether the general ſtyle of your obſervations was in favour of the conduct of government, or the contrary?

A. The cont rary.

Q. That was the general and pretty uniform line of your converſation in company?

A. Generally ſo.

Q. Was it pretty ſtrongly the contrary, or not?

A. I do not know that it was very ſtrong---it had that tendency.

Q. Keeping at a due diſtance from——

A. I hope ſo, Sir.

Q. From what, Sir?

A. Any thing wrong, or injurious to myſelf.

Q. Do you recollect--People ſometimes make up their ſentiments to toaſts, and hand them about in that ſhape---Did you ever give Republicaniſm?

A. I do not recollect it---If that was the round, I gave it.

Q. If that was the round?

A. Toaſts are generally given in rounds---ſometimes hunting---ſometime, of other kinds---If that was the round, I gave it as well as I could.

Q. Do you recollect any thing about the Kings of Europe, as to either good or bad health?

A. Not the Kings of Europe.

Q. Some of them?

A. Yes, I have drank them.

Q. With great affection?

A. I cannot ſay with great affection; I have drank my own King with regard.

Q. Have you had much political converſation with Mr. Byrne?---I ſuppoſe not?——

A. Never, but when I was buying a book in his ſhop.

Q. That ſeems goes further than the title page with a bookſeller ---Did you make any particular profeſſions to him?---I ſuppoſe not?

A. I do not recollect any till after the introduction to the Mr. Sheares's.

Q. Never before, about your principles?

A. Never about my principles.

Q. The propoſal to become acquainted with them was merely a wiſh of Mr. Byrne?

A. I do not know with whom the wiſh originated.

Q. He propoſed it, you ſaid?

A. I did ſay he propoſed it.

Q. You ſaid, you had no idea of what the ſubject was, or whether any ſubject was talked of, between you and Mr. Sheares?

A. No, Sir; I ſaid the contrary.

Q. When Byrne propoſed it, you ſaid you had no objection?

A. I did.

Q. Pray, Sir, do you know a gentleman of the name of Drought?

A. I do, a great many.

Q. Do you know the Drought, I, mean?

A. I do not.
Q. Have you no conjecture of the Drought I mean?
A. I have.
Q. What Drought is it you mean?
A. I do not know whom you mean.
Q. What Drought do you guefs at?
A. You would not take my guefling.
Q. I will.—What Drought did you fuppofe I afked you about? Do you recollect having called any Mr. Drought to your window?
A. I do; that gentleman is my firft couſin.
Q. Then you know your couſin Drought.—Had you any converſation with him when you called him up?
A. I had a good deal.
Q. For what time?
A. Very near an hour.
Q. Do you recollect what the converſation was about?
A. Upon my word I do not:——it was common place——the common news of the day——A good deal of it was profeſſions of joy at having ſeen each other; for we had not ſeen each other for ſome time.
Q. Was this before or after you met with the wound?
A. It was after.
Q. Do you remember to have told him any thing that happened to you?
A. I ſuppoſe I told him all that happened to me.
Q. Did you tell him any that happened about two countrymen?
A. No, but about three.
Q. Did you tell him you had hanged any of them?
A. No, for that would not have been the fact.
Q. Did you tell him you had *tied* them up?
A. No
Q. Or that you *ordered* them to be tied up?
A. No.
Q. Or that they were tied up?
A. I did:---I told him that one was tied up.
Q. For what purpoſe?
A. One was to be hanged, the other was to be flogged. We were going up Blackmore Hill under Sir James Duff---there was a party of rebels there---we met three men with green cockades---one we ſhot, another we hanged, and the third we flogged, and made a guide of.
Q. Which did you make the guide of?
A. The one that was neither ſhot nor hanged.
Q. Did Mr. Drought ſay any thing to you as to the cruelty of the tranſaction?
A. No: he might have ſaid ſomething of the diſtreſſed ſituation of the country.

Q. Did he ſay any thing as to what you could expect hereafter?
A. No, I do not recollect that he did.
Q. Did you ſay to him, " I thought you knew my ſentiments too well long ſince upon the ſubject of futurity?"
A. I do not recollect ever to have broached the ſubject of futurity to him. I always knew Mr. Drought's opinion of futurity.
Q. You never converſed wſth him upon the ſubject of a future exiſtence?
A. Never:——I do not recollect it.
Q. How long ago is it ſince the converſation you mentioned.
A. I do not recollect the day---it was ſince the 5th of June.——Col. Walpole's death was upon the 4th;——but I ſhould think it was a fortnight after that, becauſe I was not able to go to the window for a fortnight.
Q. Then it was within a month——Can you undertake to ſay, thai you did not ſay to him, " You know my ſentiments upon futurity?——
A. I ſaid no ſuch thing.
Q. Will you give me leave to aſk you, Had you ever been in any other military ſituation, a *civico*-military ſituation?
A. No.
Q. Did you know Archibald Hamilton Rowan?
A. I have ſeen him; but never knew him to ſpeak to him.
Q. Were you in his corps?
A. Never.
Q. Do you recollect the National Guards in 1792?
A. I do not recollect any thing of it. I have heard of Hamilton Rowan; I was only juſt of age at that time.
Q. Were you in that corps?
A. Never.
Q. Did you maks up the uniform?
A. Never:---I do not know the uniform. I might have had a coat anſwering the uniform; but I never made it up for the corps, dor did I ever ſee it.
Q. Did you wear in the year 1792, any dreſs like a uniform with green trowſers---buttons having a harp impreſſed without a crown, and green cockades?
A. Never. I had no green coat, nor buttons of that kind---I might have worn green when a boy.

Croſs-Examined by Mr. PONSONBY.

Q. How long have you been in the King's County Militir?
A. Since the 19th of January laſt.
Q. Have you declared it was in your power to bring over the King's County Militia, if there was a riſing?
A. Never to any perſon but the Sheares's, and to Byrne after my introduction to them.

Q. Do you recollect not having ſpoken favourably of the King of England. Did you ever ſay, "that if no other perſon could be found to cut off the head of the King of England, you would do it yourſelf?"

A. Never.

Q. Are you poſitive you never did?

A. Never.

Q. As you have been fond of buying new pamphlets as they came out, do you recollect to have bought the pamphlets of Paine?

A. I have.

Q. Have you read them?

A. I have read all that I got---I have not got them all.

Q. You have read the "Rights of Man" and the "Age of Reaſon?"

A. I have.

Q. Do you recollect having told any one, that they contained your creed?

A. No:---I do not recollect that I did.

Q. Are you ſure you did not ſay it?

A. I did not ſay it, becauſe I never thought it.

The following Paper, found by Alderman Alexander, in a Box in the Poſſeſſion of Mr. Sheares, was read:

Note. The words in Italics were interlined: Theſe between Crotchets were ſtruck acroſs with a pen.

"*Iriſhmen*,

"[Your country is free; all thoſe monſters who uſurped its government to oppreſs its people are in our hands, except ſuch as have]

"Your country is free, and you are about to be avenged [already] that vile government, which has ſo long and ſo cruelly oppreſſed you, is no more; ſome of its moſt atrocious monſters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the reſt are in our hands [waiting their fate.] The National Flag, *the Sacred Green*, is at this moment flying over the ruins of deſpotiſm, and that capital, which a few hours paſt [was the ſcene] witneſſed the debauchery, [the machinations] plots and crimes of your tyrants, is now the citadel of triumphant patriotiſm *and virtue.* Ariſe then, United Sons of Ireland: ariſe like a great and powerful people, determined to [live] be free or die; arm yourſelves by every means in your power, and ruſh like Lions on your foes: conſider, that [in diſarming your enemy] for every enemy you diſarm, you arm a friend, and thus become doubly pow-

" erful; in the cauſe of liberty, inaction is cowardice, and the " coward ſhall forfeit the property he has not the courage to pro- " tect. Let his arms be ſeized and transferred to thoſe gallant " [patriots] *ſpirits* who want, and will uſe them; yes, Iriſhmen, " we ſwear by that eternal juſtice, in whoſe cauſe you fight, that " the brave patriot, who ſurvives the preſent glorious ſtruggle, " and the family of him who has fallen, or ſhall fall hereafter in " it, ſhall receive from the hands of a grateful nation, an ample " recompence out of [thoſe funds] that property which the crimes " of our enemies [ſhall] have forfeited into its hands, and his " name [too] ſhall be inſcribed on the national record of Iriſh re- " volution, as a glorious example to all poſterity; *but we likewiſe* " *ſwear to puniſh robbery with death and infamy.*

" We alſo ſwear, that we will never ſheathe the ſword until " every [perſon] being in the county is reſtored to thoſe equal " rights, which the God of Nature has given to all men,---until an " order of things ſhall be eſtabliſhed, in which no ſuperiority ſhall " be acknowledged among the citizens of Erin, but that [which] " of virtue and talent [ſhall intitle to.]

" As for thoſe degenerate wretches who turn their ſwords againſt " their native country, the national vengeance awaits them: Let " them find no quarter unleſs they ſhall prove their repentance by " *ſpeedily* deſerting, exchanging from the ſtandard of ſlavery, for " that of freedom, under which their former errors may be buried, " and they may ſhare the glory and advantages that are due to the " patriot bands of Ireland.

" Many of the military feel the love of liberty glow within their " breaſts, and have [already to] joined the national ſtandard; re- " ceive [thoſe] with open arms, ſuch as ſhall follow ſo glorious " an example, they can render ſignal ſervice to the cauſe of free- " dom, and ſhall be rewarded according to their deſerts: but for " the wretch who turns his ſword againſt his native country, let the " national vengeance be viſited on him, let him find no quarter; " two other crimes demand———

" Rouſe all the energies of your ſouls; call forth *all* the merit " and abilities which a vicious government conſigned to obſcurity, " and under the conduct of your choſen leaders, march with a " ſteady ſtep to victory; heed not the glare of [a mercenary] " hired ſoldiery, or *ariſtocratic yeomanry*, they cannot ſtand the " vigorous ſhock of freedom, [cloſe with them man to man, and " let them ſee what vigour the cauſe of freedom can.] Their trap- " pings and their arms will ſoon be yours, and the deteſted Go- " vernment of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, ſhall " learn, that the treaſures [ſhe, it] *they* exhauſts on [their merce- " nary] its accoutered ſlaves for the purpoſe of butchering Iriſh- " men, ſhall but farther enable us to turn their ſwords on its de- " voted head.

" Attack them in every direction by day and by night; avail
" yourſelves of the natural advantages of your country, which are
" innumerable, *and with which you are better acquainted than they;*
" where you cannot oppoſe them in full force, conſtantly haraſs
" their rear and their flanks; cut off their proviſions and magazines,
" and prevent them as much as poſſible from uniting their forces;
" let whatever moments you cannot [paſs in] devote to fighting for
" your country, be [devoted to] paſſed in learning how to fight for
" it, or preparing the means of war, for war, war alone muſt oc-
" cupy every mind, and every hand in Ireland, until its long op-
" preſſed ſoil be purged of all its enemies.

" Vengeance, Iriſhmen, vengeance on your oppreſſors---Re-
" member what thouſands of your deareſt friends have periſhed by
" their [murders, cruel plots] *mercileſs orders;* remember their
" burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military maſ-
" ſacres, and their legal murders. Remember, ORR."

Appendix, No. XXI.

nd.	Piſtols	Swords	BallCg.	Pikes	Balls	lb.Pow.	Yeo. F.	Mili.	Priſo.	Yeo. E.	Mil. do.	City of Dublin.			
E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	A	B	C	D
												W. H.	Societi.	Men	Finance.
24	183	31	1450	333	2050	30	158	517		341	165	1	66	1095	5 13 9
												B K.			
												2	69	1595	10 19 3½
15	4	10			840	8½						Rotun. 3	73	1327	5 13 9½
												Ste. G. 4	26	403	4 8 5
23	116	82	90	400	940	17	156		7		453 L.				
													234	4420	26 15 3
62	303	123	1540	733	3830	55½	314	517	7	341	165			former Y.	13 7 7
	Piſtols	Swords	Pikes	BallCg.	Balls	Powder	Canon	Mortrs	Yeo. F.					priv	5 10 1½
	417	369	4888	24911	70948	1230	8	1		ar.					

D

										D.		
		1230	8545	5500	1317				Do.	1 Tom.	L	
168	654	104	7409		324			36	ar.			
								Calv.	Do.			
									M.			
		202	2263		9			423	T.			
									C.			
									F.			
	585	1023	6424	43125	76448	2880	8	1	459	U.	1 Tom.	
	83460		34632									

In all	45	12 10½

It is earneſtly requeſted that each C. wil ſend P. of the beſt ability and probity they poſſibly can, on the next election, as it is indiſpenſibly neceſſary at this criſis. It is requeſted no Br. will purchaſe L. Tickets.

ULSTER KEY.

Found among the Papers of Edward Rattigan.

A. Counties
B. Men
C. Guns
D. Bayonets
E. Blunderbuſſes
F. Piſtols
G. Swords
H. Pikes
I. Ball cartridge
K. Balls
L. Hair-powder
M. Cannon
N. Mortars
O. Yeomen Friends
Q. Lead

1 Guns
2 Bayonets
3 Blunderbuſſes
4 Men
5 Piſtols
6 Swords
7 Pikes
8 Ball cartridge
9 Blank do.
10 Powder
11 Ball
12 lb. Lead
13 Yeo. frs.
14 Cannon
15 Militia frs.
16 Do. enemies
17 Yeo. do.
18 Infantry frs.
19 Volunteers---old ones
20 lb. Ball

1 Antrim
2 Down
3 Derry
4 Armagh
5 Donegal
6 Monaghan
7 Tyrone
8 Cavan
9 Fermanagh

1 Work-houſe
2 Barrack
3 Rotunda
4 Stephen's green

} B. Societies
} C. Men
} D. Finance

A. Dublin
B. County do.
C. Louth
D. Kildare
E. Meath
T. Finances

At a Meeting of U. I. held at B. C. Pimlico, Dublin, May 7th, 1797.

Edward Maguire in the Chair.

John Tench, Treaſurer.

Edward Ratigan, Secretary.

s.	d.			s.	d.		
*1	1	1	Edward Maguire	1	1	19 Sil. Fox	
		2	John Tench			20 John Dowling	
		3	Edward Ratigan			21 Owen Connor	3
		4	Patrick Shuffleton			22 Peter Hays	1

5	James Lawler	23 Arthur Connell	5
6	James Harlin	24 John Fagan	
7	Hugh Roſborough	25 Nicholas Brogan	
8	Thomas Cavanagh	26 Philip Crofton	18
9	Robert Paxman	27 John Reilly	
10	William Salters	28 Andrıw Ennis	11
11	John Murphy	29 Arthur Paſmer	4
12	Patrick Howard	30 Bartholomew Carney	
13	G. Fitzſimmons	31 Thomas Dunn	7
14	Thomas Gilligan	32 Matthew M'Cabe	
15	John Higgins	33 Wm. Ryan	
16	Luke Duigan	34 Andrew Nicholſon	13
17	Thomai Flynn	35 Richard Behan	17
18	Thomas Maher	36 Philip Reynolds	9

To enquire for Flin and Soran.

* An Engliſh ſhilling ſubſcription paid at each meeting.

Several other papers were found with the above, containing liſts of names and ſubſcriptions at meetings of United Iriſhmen.

UNITED MEN OF IRELAND.

YOUR numbers have encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that you may with truth be ſaid to be the *People of Ireland*, but your organization ſhould keep pace with your numbers; for without orgrnization, how can your numbers or your ſtrength be brought to act? conſider the preſent moment, a moment when France, after conquering the armies of the Deſpots of Europe, is marching her ſoldiers to her coaſts, a moment when France, collecting the Navies of Spain, Holland, Venice and her own, is preparing one hundred and ſeventy ſhips of the line, to tranſport thoſe conquerors of the Deſpots of the continent, that they may pour them on England, Scotland and Ireland, filled with milions, *united* in the glorious cauſe of freedom, anxious to receive them. In a moment when deſpotiſm, founded on the uſurpation of every popular right, and ſupported by corruption and tyranny, is ready to fall to pieces, into a gulph of bankruptcy and ruin: *Is this a moment for you to be unprepared?* Is this a time for you to abate your perſeverance, your patience or your ſpirit? Conſult your reaſon, it will tell you that your ſtrength conſiſts in your being actually UNITED, and thoroughly well ORGANIZED BODY. Do not then hearken to thoſe men, who will tell you to diſcontinue your organization, or from chooſing your, Repreſentatives. Let ſobriety, let good character,

let courage, let talents be the qualities which ſhall direct your choice. Purge your ſocieties of all ſuſpicious or doubtful men. No doubt at this inſtant, thoſe you elect will have to fill poſts of danger, but ere long they will be poſts of honour and of ſafety. Above all be mindful of the ſolemn oath you have taken to promote UNION amongſt *Iriſhmen of every Sect and Religion*. DISUNION has been the means by which Ireland has been enſlaved for the centuries that are paſt, in UNION *only can Ireland find her ſalvation*. Be diſcreet and avoid drunkenneſs, be firm, but be patient and avoid riots. In a word UNITE and ORGANIZE, and rely on it ere long you muſt be FREE.

Reſolved, that it is ordered, that each Barony do pay into the NATION three pence per month each man at the leaſt, whilſt thoſe who are rich do pay according to their abilities.

Reſolved, that no man do pay except to his own Treaſurer.

Reſolved, that the taking of arms by force from houſes is attended with great evil, and productive of no good, therefore any men impriſoned therefore, ſhall not be maintained by their Societies.

Reſolved, that United Men are ſtrictly forbidden to attend to any orders which do not come regularly through their Repreſentatives.

I, A. B. do ſolemnly ſwear, in the awful preſence of GOD, that I will obey whatever orders I may receive from my ſuperior officer, for the purpoſe of freeing my country. So help me God, as I keep this ſacred obligation.

☞ Many thouſands more found with this among the papers of Edward Ratigan.

PRIVATE's TEST.

I, A. B. as private, do voluntarily declare, that I will comforward when called on by ſerjeant or ſuperior officer, and aid them as far as in my power lies, in any eligible manner that may tend to the eſtabliſhment of Liberty, or the Freedom of Ireland.

SERGEANT's TEST.

I. A. B. as ſergeant, do voluntarily declare, that I will come forward when called on by my captain or ſuperior officers, and aid them as far as in my power lies in any elegible manner that may tend to the eſtabliſhment of Liberty, or the freedom of Ireland. I do frather declare, that I will not call forward under arms any of the men conſigned to my command, without the authority of my

ſuperior officers or commander, except in a caſe of emergency, when ſuch authority cannot be obtained; and that I will not riſk by any illegal meeting the ſafety of any individual under my command.

COMMANDING OFFICER's TEST.

I, A. B. as captain, colonel or commander, do voluntarilyd e-clare, that I will aid to the utmoſt of my ſkill and power the men under my command, in any eligible manner that may tend to the eſtabliſhment of Liberty or the Freedom of Ireland. I do farther declare, that I will not call forward under arms any individual conſigned to my command, without the approbation of the ſuperior authorities.

No. XXII.

Extract from the Trial of the Rev. William Jackſon, for High Treaſon, in the King's Bench of Ireland, 23d April, 1795.

ATTORNEY GENERAL. Do you recollect any converſation between Mr. *Jackſon* and Mr. *Lewins* at any time?

A. At any time? Yes.

Q. Where and when?

A. At *Hyde's* Coffee-houſe.

Q. In what chamber?

A. I believe in that where I ſlept.

Q. Can you recollect what that converſation was?

A. That was as to Mr. *Lewins* aſking Mr. *Jackſon* for ſome written documents or authorities, that he might produce them to Mr. *Rowan*, in order that Mr. *Rowan* might, with confidence, talk to Mr. *Jackſon*.

Q. Who is the Mr. *Rowan* you ſpeak of?

A. Mr. *Hamilton Rowan*, I think, they called him.

Q. Where was he at that time?

A. In Newgate.

Q. Can you tell whether Mr. *Lewins* and Mr. *Jackſon* had any converſation reſpecting Mr. *Rowan* before?

A. I cannot ſay to that.

Q. Did you not ſay that Mr. *Lewins* came to aſk *Jackſon* had he any written document that he might produce to *Rowan* to convince him he might talk with confidence?

A. I did.

Q. What anſwer did *Jackſon* give to that requeſt?
A. I believe he gave him ſome paper.
Q. Did you ſee whether he gave any?
A. I cannot ſwear that I ſaw him deliver the papers into his hand.
Q. Did *Jackſon* tell you whether he had delivered them?
A. He did tell me that he had delivered ſome papers to *Lewins*, and that he wiſhed he had them again.
Q. Did he tell you why he wiſhed to have them again?
A. He ſaid he would not truſt them with *Lewins*, if he had them back.
Q. Did he tell you what thoſe papers were?
A. He did not.
Q. Do you know whether he ever got them back?
A. I believe he did.
Q. Did he ever tell you whether he did or not?
A. Not directly in thoſe words.
Q. In what words then?
A. I can only ſay I believe he did get them back again, but I cannot ſwear that Mr. *Jackſon* ſaid "Mr. *Lewins* has given me theſe papers."---I have every reaſon to believe that he did get them back.
Q. Can you recollect how ſoon after your arrival this converſation was?
A. Can you tell me the date of our arrival?

Mr. *Attorney General*. I am not to tell you any thing.

Witneſs. We arrived on the ſecond or third, and I ſhould ſuppoſe it was four or five days after, but I can't ſpeak poſitive.
Q. Had *Jackſon* any interview with *Rowan*?
A. He had.
Q. When had he the firſt?
A. Do you aſk me in point of date?
Mr. *Attorney General*. If you recollect how ſoon after the converſation with *Lewins*?
A. I believe a day or two after the converſation with *Lewins*.
Q. You *believe*!——
A. I may have hurried myſelf in ſaying *believe*; I *know* that he had an interview.
Q. Were you preſent?
A. Yes.
Q. Had he none previous to that that you were preſent at?
A. I believe he had; if that be not evidence, I cannot ſay more.
Q. Did *Jackſon* ſay he had an interview?
A. He told me he had ſeen Mr. *Rowan*.

Q. That was before you were preſent?
A. It was.
Q. And either a day or two after *Lewins* called for the papers?
A. It was.
Q. Did *Jackſon* tell you what paſſed between him and *Rowan* at that interview, or any part of it?
A. He told me he was much ſatisfied with Mr. *Rowan*; that his manners were very much thoſe of a gentleman. I recollect nothing more.
Q. Did *Jackſon* tell you whether he was to ſee *Rowan* again or not?
A. He ſaid he was.
Q. Did he tell you when that meeting was to be, and what the object of it was?
A. I don't think he ſaid what it was---yes---he ſaid it was to breakfaſt.
Q. He did not tell you the object?
A. No, I think not.
Q. Did he tell you who was to be there?
A. No.
Q. Did he go?
A. Yes, he went there certainly.
Q. How do you know?
A. I went with him.
Q. How ſoon was this after the firſt meeting?
A. Within the compaſs of three or four days, or a week, certainly.
Q. Was there any other perſon with *Rowan* when you were there?
A. I really believe---I can't ſpeak poſitive, and I'll tell you why---there was two or three meetings, and I can't tell at which ---there was a relative of Mr. *Rowan*, I think his father or father-in-law.
Q. Did that relative continue during the whole time you were there?
A. No---he went away.
Q. Do you remember whether there was any body elſe?
A. I think Mr. *Tone* was there, I cannot poſitively ſwear.
Q. Do you remember what was the ſubject of the converſation there?
A. It was on politics.
Q. What politics?
A. *Iriſh* affairs.
A. In what reſpect?
A. A great deal was ſaid about the *United Iriſhmen*, of which

Mr. *Rowan* was a member; ſome pamphlets were read, and ſome other matters talked of between them—and there was a converſation about the diſſatisfaction of the people in ſome part of the kingdom.

Q. Were you preſent at a meeting with *Jackſon* and *Rowan* when *Tone* was preſent?

A. I was.

Q. Did you know, previous to going, who was to be there?

A. I now begin to recollect, but I am not poſitively certain, Jackſon ſaid Tone was to be there.

Q. Did yon meet any perſon there?

A. I met Mr. Tone there.

Lord CLONMELL. Was that the firſt meeting or the ſecond?

A. I am not ſure; but at ſome meeting I met Mr. Tone there.

Q. Can you tell for what purpoſe Jackſon went to meet Tone there, or for what purpoſe he was there?

A. Mr. Jackſon did not tell me for what purpoſe he was to be there.

Q. Was there any other perſon preſent but Tone, Rowan, Jackſon, and you?

A. No.

Q. Can you tell what was the purport of the converſation?

A. I ſhall be very little able to complete an anſwer to that queſtion, becauſe I did not particularly with to make myſelf maſter of that converſation *in toto*.

Q. Be pleaſed to inform the Court what you do recollect of that converſation.

A. There was ſome paper produced, it was in the hands of Tone, and it was read by him and Rowan.

Lord CLONMELL. Read aloud?

A. Not ſo loud that I could underſtand it.

Mr. Attorney General. Did you ſee that paper again at any time?

A. I had it once.

Q. Would you know it again?

A. I made no mark on it.

Mr. Attorney General. I did not aſk you that.

Witneſs. If I were to ſee it I would make you an anſwer whether I would know it or not; before that I cannot give an anſwer.

Q. You read it?

A. No, never.

Q. What converſation paſſed at the meeting where Tone was? I don't aſk you the particular words.

A. The converſation among the three was the forming a plan, or talking of a plan, to ſend ſomebody to *France*.

Q. Was any particular perſon mentioned to go on that errand?

A. Mr. *Tone* was aſked to go.

Lord CLONMELL. What—to go?

A. To go

Mr. Attorney General. For what purpoſe was he to go?

A. As I underſtood———

Q. Did you underſtand from the converſation for what purpoſe *Tone* was to go to *France?*

Mr. Curran. It is impoſſible to ſuſtain the queſtion that is put in law—did he *underſtand*—it is not a legal queſtion, and for one reaſon as good as a thouſand, that it would be impoſſible to indict a witneſs for perjury upon ſuch teſtimony.

The Court. You need not go farther into the objection. (To the witneſs.) Did you hear the converſation?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you underſtand it?

A. Yes, in part.

Q. How do you mean *in part?*

A. They were at one corner of the room, and I in another with a book in my hand, and I did not hear enough to ſtate what they ſaid.

Mr Attorncy General. Do you know for what purpoſe Tone was to go to *France?*

A. I cannot ſay, but from my own conjecture.

Q. Did Jackſon ever tell you for what purpoſe Tone was to go?

A. Never directly ſo; but from what I underſtood and from general converſations, I am well ſatisfied what the purpoſe was in my own mind———

Q. The Court, What did he ſay?

A. I cannot repeat it.

Q. What was the ſubſtantial import?

A. The ſubſtantial import was, that he was to go to *France* with a paper as I underſtand—thoſe papers I never ſaw.

Q. Did Mr. *Tone* agree to go?

A. At one time he ſaid he would, at another time he receded; he gave his reaſons for agreeing to go and for receding.

Mr. Curran. Was Mr. *Jackſon* preſent?

A. At the reaſons that he firſt gave, Mr. *Jackſon* was not preſent.

Mr. Attorney General. Where was it?

A. At *Newgate.*

Q. Had you a meeting with Tone and Rowan when Jackſon was not preſent?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever hear Tone give any reaſons for going or not going when Jackſon was preſent?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Where was that?

A. At Newgate.

Q. Who was preſent?

A. Mr. Rowan, Mr. Tone, and I.

Q. Was Jackſon preſent?

A. I *think* he was——[This evidence was objected to.]

Q. Were you at Rowan's lodgings at Newgate at any other meeting than thoſe you have mentioned?

A. How many have I mentioned?

Q. Did you ever ſee any other perſon beſides Tone at Rowan's lodgings in Newgate?

A. Yes, I ſaw Dr. Reynolds.

Q. Was *Tone* preſent at either of them?

A. Once he was.

Q. How often?

A. Once, if not twice.

Q. Did you ſee him there more than once?

A. I think twice---'tis a year ago, and I have had that on my mind ſince, that has ſhatteted my memory very much.

Q. Was *Jackſon* preſent at either of thoſe meetings that *Reynolds* was at?

A. I don't know how to ſwear poſitively---I think he was.

Q. Did you go alone to the meeting?

A. I can't tell---I was alone more than once at Mr. *Rowan's*.

Q. I aſk you did you go alone to the meeting at which Dr. *Reynolds* was preſent?

A. If I could have anſwered that queſtion I would have ſaved you the trouble of repeating it.

Q. What converſation paſſed between *Rowan*, *Reynolds*, and *Tone*, when you ſaw them together?

[Counſel for the priſoner objected to this queſtion, *Jackſon* not being proved to have been preſent.]

Q. Had you any converſation with *Jackſon* reſpecting Dr. *Reynolds*?

A. I had.

Q. What was the ſubſtance of it?

A. The ſubſtance of it was, as to his being a proper or an improper perſon to go to *France*.

Queſtion by the Court. What did *Jackſon* ſay on that ſubject?

A. Mr. *Jackſon* ſaid he did not ſo much approve of him as of Mr. *Tone*.

Mr. *Attorney General.* Did he tell you why;

A. I cannot anſwer that he told me why---the reaſon why, I thought, I am convinced——

Q. Did *Jackſon* tell you on what errand *Reynolds* was to have gone?

A. The ſame of *Tone*'s.

Q. What was that?

A. To carry ſome paper to *France*.

Queſtion by the Court. How do you know?

A. Becauſe the paper, whatever it was, was drawn in Newgate while I was there.

Q. Do you know this from your own knowledge, or did *Jackſon* tell you?

A. I cannot ſay that he told me ſo *in hæc verba*.

Q. Can you tell ſubſtantially what you heard from the priſoner?

A. In ſubſtance, it was, that he was to go to *France* with ſome inſtructions to the French. It is very difficult to repeat converſations with accuracy; I have heard this in many alternate converſations with *Jackſon*, with *Tone*, with *Reynolds*, and with *Rowan*.

Mr. *Curran*. My client is to be affected by no converſation that is not ſown to have been in his preſence; the witneſs ſays there were ſome converſations at which he was not preſent, and therefore it is neceſſary the witneſs ſhould ſwear poſitively that *Jackſon* was preſent, when any thing reſpecting thoſe inſtructions paſſed.

Witneſs. Originally *Tone* was to have gone, but he left *Dublin* abruptly without ſaying whether he would or would not go, and then Mr. *Rowan* applied to Dr. *Reynolds* I believe. If I am not point blank in my anſwers, you will let me tell why I am not ſo, for I would not leave the *Court* under the impreſſion that I would wilfully conceal any thing.

Q. Then *Jackſon* told you that *Reynolds* was to go to *France* and take a paper; did you learn from him in converſation what that paper was?

A. So many converſations we have had, that it draws me into a maze which of them I ſhall think of. I was many weeks in company with the priſoner, and the ſubject was talked of repeatedly.——I cannot tell the preciſe words.

Q. You miſtake me; I aſk you of converſations in general between you and *Jackſon*.——Did he ever tell you for what purpoſe *Reynolds* was to be ſent to *France*?

A. To take ſome written paper with him, to the French Convention I believe; I cannot ſay poſitively.

Q. Did *Jackſon* tell you at any time or in any converſation for what purpoſe *Reynolds* was to go?

A. I don't know how to anſwer, there are ſo many anſwers to be given this queſtion.

Lord CLONMELL. Did you draw any inference from theſe converſations for what purpoſe he was to be ſent?

Mr. *Curran*. I beg your Lordſhip's pardon; but the witneſs will conceive that he has a right to give his own opinion in anſwer to that queſtion.

Lord CLONMELL. Did you underſtand unequivocally from thoſe converſations what he was to be ſent for——did *Jackſon* ever tell you for what purpoſe, or to whom *Reynolds* or *Tone* were to go?

A. They were to go to *France*.——I cannot tell in what words to put my anſwer---I cannot ſay to whom they were to go; if I was to ſay one perſon, I might be wrong, for it was my own underſtanding of it. I underſtood from general converſations conſtantly had, that they were to go with ſome papers to *France*. I cannot repeat *Jackſon*'s words, my own words will be my underſtanding of his words.

Attorney General. The witneſs ſaid he had already heard ſo in alternate converſations with *Jackſon*, *Tone*, &c.

Witneſs. I adhere to that ſtill.

Lord CLONMELL. "With inſtructions for the *French*"—— for what purpoſe?

A. I ſhall there catch up what I ſaid before——I *underſtood* they were to have written inſtructions for the *French*, but what they were I don't know.

Attorney General. To what part of *France* was the meſſenger to go?

A. I underſtood they were to go to *Paris*.

Q. From whom did you underſtand that?

A: From them all.

Q. Did either *Tone* or *Reynolds* receive any encouragement to go?

A. Yes.

Q. Either *Tone* or *Reynolds* in your preſence?

A. Yes.

Q. By whom?

A. By the priſoner and *Rowan*

Q. What were the encouragements that *Jackſon* held out to *Tone*?

A. That he would find the *French* a generous, and, I, think, a brave people---a generous people.

Q. Was there any thing in the converſation that led *Jackſon* to ſay that?

A. What brought that ſpeech from *Jackſon* I preſume, was owing to the difficulties that *Tone* raiſed to his going.

Q. What were they?

A. A wife and family.

Q. Were there any others mentioned?

A. The loſs of opportunities which might very likely ariſe from his remaining in this kingdom.

Q. Did *Jackſon* give *Reynolds* encouragement to go, or uſe any perſuaſions?

A. Not much---he did not like him; he would rather have had *Tone*.

State of Ireland, prepared for the Purpoſe of being ſent to France by Dr. Jackſon, and proved on his Trial.

"THE ſituation of Ireland and England is fundamentally different in this—the government of England is national, that of Ireland provincial. The intereſt of the firſt is the ſame with that of the people—of the laſt, directly oppoſite. The people of Ireland are divided into three ſects; the eſtabliſhed church, the diſſenters, and the catholics; the firſt, infinitely the ſmalleſt portion, have engroſſed, beſides the whole church patronage, all the profits and honours of the country excluſively, and a very great ſhare of the landed property. They are of courſe ariſtocrats, adverſe to any change, and decided enemies to the French revolution. The diſſenters, which are much more numerous, are the moſt enlightened body of the nation; they are ſteady republicans, devoted to liberty, and, through all the ſtages of the French revolution, have been enthuſiaſtically attached to it. The catholics, the great body of the people, are in the loweſt degree of ignorance, and are ready for any change, becauſe no change can make them worſe. The whole peaſantry of Ireland, the moſt oppreſſed and wretched in Europe, may be ſaid to be catholic. They have within theſe two years received a certain degree of information, and manifeſted a proportionate degree of diſcontent by various inſurrections, &c. They are a bold hardy race, and make excellent ſoldiers. There is no where a higher ſpirit of ariſtocracy than in all the privileged orders, the clergy and gentry of Ireland, down to the very loweſt, to countervail which, there appears now a ſpirit riſing in the people which never exiſted before, but which is ſpreading moſt rapidly, as appears by the Defenders, as they are called, and other inſurgents. If the people of Ireland be 4,500,000, as it ſeems probable they are, the eſtabliſhed church may be reckoned at 450,000, the diſſenters at 900,000, the catholics at 3,150,000. The prejudices in England are adverſe to the French nation under whatever form of government. It ſeems idle to ſuppoſe the preſent rancour againſt the French is owing merely to their being republicans; it has been cheriſhed by the manners of four centuries, and aggravated by continual wars. It is morally certain that any invaſion of England would unite all ranks in oppoſition to the invaders. In Ireland, a conquered, oppreſſed, and inſulted country, the name of England and her power is univerſally odious, ſave with thoſe who have an intereſt in maintaining it: a body, however, only formidable from ſituation and property, but which the firſt convulſion would level in the duſt; on the contrary, the great bulk of the people of Ireland would be ready to throw off the yoke in this country, if they ſaw any force ſufficiently ſtrong to reſort to for defence until arrangements could be made. The diſſenters are enemies to the Engliſh power from reaſon and from reflection, the catholics from a hatred of the Engliſh name; in a word, the prejudices of one

country are directly adverſe, of the other directly favourable to an invaſion. The government of Ireland is only to be looked upon as a government of force: the moment a ſuperior force appears, it would tumble at once, as being founded neither in the intereſts nor in the affections of the people. It may be ſaid, the people of Ireland ſhow no political exertion. In the firſt place, public ſpirit is completely depreſſed by the recent perſecutions of ſeveral. The convention act, the gunpowder, &c. &c. declarations of government, parliamentary unanimity, or declarations of grand juries, all proceeding from ariſtocrats, whoſe intereſt is adverſe to that of the people, and who think ſuch conduct neceſſary for their ſecurity, are no obſtacles; the weight of ſuch men falls in the general welfare, and their own tenantry and dependents would deſert and turn againſt them. The people have no way of expreſſing their diſcontent *civiliter*, which is at the ſame time greatly aggravated by thoſe meaſures, and they are on the other hand in that *ſemi-barbarous* ſtate which is of all others the beſt adapted for making war. The ſpirit of Ireland cannot therefore be calculated from newſpaper publications, county meetings, &c. at which the gentry only meet and ſpeak for themſelves. They are ſo ſituated, that they have but one way left to make their ſentiments known, and that is by war. The church eſtabliſhment and tithes are very ſevere grievances, and have been the cauſe of numberleſs local inſurrections; in a word, from reaſon, reflection, intereſt, prejudice, the ſpirit of change, the miſery of the great bulk of the nation, and above all, the hatred of the Engliſh name reſulting from the tyranny of near ſeven centuries, there ſeems little doubt but an invaſion and ſufficient force would be ſupported by the people. There is ſcarce any army in the country, and the militia, the bulk of whom are catholics, would to a moral certainty refuſe to act, if they ſaw ſuch a force as they could look to for ſupport."

The above extracts are taken from the report of the trial of Dr. Jackſon, by Meſſrs. Ridgway, Schoales, and Lapp, and publiſhed by J. Exſhaw, Dublin.

No. XXIII.

Copies of the following were found in ſeveral Places.

Inſtructions drawn up by the Provincial Committee of Leinſter, 19th April 1798.

Provincial, 19th April 1798.

INSTRUCTIONS.

1ſt. A return of muſkets in each regiment.

2d. Six good flints and a ſufficient quantity of powder for each muſket to be got directly.

3d. A man to be got in each regiment or barony who underſtands making ball cartridges; and a cartridge ſtick to be got for each company, the men to inſtruct others in making cartridges.

4th. One bullet mould muſt be had for each company at leaſt.

5th. Powder for each regiment, to be kept if poſſible by the colonel, or ſome other ſhop-keeper who can be depended on: the powder by no means to be buried.

6th. Each regiment to find a perſon who has ſerved in the army or militia, to act as adjutant: this man to drill the captains, who are to drill the ſerjeants, who are to drill the men; the adjutant to go through the companies by rotation, and to be paid by the baronial committee.

7th. A ſtandard to be got for each company ten feet long, with a pike in the end; the flag to be of green ſtuff about two feet ſquare.

8th. Each company to provide a horn, a bugle-horn if poſſible, if not a cow's-horn; the perſon appointed to have them to learn three ſounds, firſt an aſſembly, ſecond a charge, third a call of captains to aſſemble.

9th. Every man to provide himſelf with a havre-ſack, and if poſſible to have conſtantly by him at leaſt a week's proviſion.

10th. Every man to keep kettles or pots in readineſs.

11th. Every ſerjeant's diviſion to be provided with one ſhovel, every ſecond diviſion with one fork, every third with one pick, every diviſion with one bill-hook, and every company with one axe.

12th. Every company to have one good car and horſe, both in good and perfect order for work.

13th. Every man to provide himſelf with ſtraps to carry his great coat or blankets, alſo ſmall ſtraps for his can and ſpoon.

14th. A bit of green ſtuff or any other colour to be faſtened at the end of each pike, as it has a great effect in frightening the horſes of cavalry.

		Colonels.	In hands.	
			£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Carlow, 1.	11300	—	40 — —	
Kildare, 2.	11910	6	22 15 —	72 15 —
Kilkenny, 3.	6700	—	70 — —	
Co. Dublin, 4.	7412	3	29 6 —	32 2 6
Meath, 5.	8596	3	56 17 6	
Wicklow, 6.	14000	—	22 15 —	
King's Co. 7.	6500			
Weſtmeath, 8.	5250	—	70 — —	
City Dublin, 9.	8597	—		92 3 3¼

No. XXIV.

The Declaration, Reſolutions, and Conſtitution, of the Societies of United Iriſhmen.

DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS.

IN the preſent æra of reform, when unjuſt governments are falling in every quarter of Europe; when religious perſecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conſcience; when the rights of men are aſcertained in theory, and that theory ſubſtantiated by practice; when antiquity can no longer defend abſurd and oppreſſive forms, againſt the common ſenſe and common intereſts of mankind; when all governments are acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be ſo far only obligatory, as they protect their rights and promote their welfare: we think it our duty as Iriſhmen to come forward, and ſtate what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy: we have no national government; we are ruled by Engliſhmen and the ſervants of Engliſhmen, whoſe object is the intereſt of another country; whoſe inſtrument is corruption, and whoſe ſtrength is the weakneſs of Ireland; and theſe men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country, as means to ſeduce and ſubdue the honeſty of her repreſentatives in the legiſlature.—Such an extrinſic power acting with uniform force, in a direction too frequently oppoſite to the true line of our obvious intereſts, can be reſiſted with effect ſolely by *unanimity*, *deciſion*, and *ſpirit*, in the *people*; qualities which may be exerted moſt legally, conſtitutionally, and efficaciouſly, by that great meaſure, eſſential to the proſperity and freedom of Ireland—an equal repreſentation of all the people in parliament.

Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, we have agreed to form an aſſociation, to be called the Society of United Iriſhmen: and we do pledge ourſelves to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will ſteadily ſupport, and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect the following reſolutions:

1ſt. Reſolved, That the weight of Engliſh influence in the government of this country is ſo great, as to require a cordial *union* among *all the people of Ireland*, to maintain that balance which is eſſential to the preſervation of our liberties and extenſion of our commerce.

2d. That the ſole conſtitutional mode by which this influence can be oppoſed is by a complete and radical reform of the repreſentation of the people in parliament.

3d. That no reform is practicable, efficacious, or juſt, which ſhall not include *Iriſhmen* of every religious perſuaſion.

Satisfied,

Satisfied, as we are, that the inteſtine diviſions among Iriſhmen have too often given encouragement and impunity to profligate, audacious, and corrupt adminiſtrations, in meaſures which, but for theſe diviſions, they durſt not have attempted; we ſubmit our reſolutions to the nation as the baſis of our political faith. We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil. We have ſtated what we conceive to be *remedy*. With a parliament thus formed, every thing is eaſy—without it, nothing can be done:—and we do call on, and moſt earneſtly exhort our countrymen in general, to follow our example, and to form ſimilar ſocieties in every quarter of the kingdom, for the promotion of conſtitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry in religion and politics, and the equal diſtribution of the rights of man throughout all ſects and denominations of Iriſhmen. The people, when thus collected, will feel their own weight, and ſecure that power which theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which, if they be not arouſed by their preſent provocations to vindicate it, they deſerve to forfeit their pretenſions for ever.

CONSTITUTION.

1ſt. This ſociety is conſtituted for the purpoſe of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion; and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legiſlature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.

2d. Every candidate for admiſſion into this ſociety ſhall be propoſed by one member and ſeconded by another, both of whom ſhall vouch for his character and principles. The candidate to be ballotted for on the ſociety's ſubſequent meeting, and if one of the beans ſhall be black, he ſhall ſtand rejected.

3d. Each ſociety ſhall fix upon a weekly ſubſcription ſuited to the circumſtances and convenience of its numbers, which they ſhall regularly return to their baronial by the proper officer.

4th. The officers of this ſociety ſhall be a ſecretary and treaſurer, who ſhall be appointed by ballot every three months: on every firſt meeting in November, February, May, and Auguſt.

5th. A ſociety ſhall conſiſt of no more than *twelve* members, and thoſe as nearly as poſſible of the ſame ſtreet or neighbourhood, whereby they may be all thoroughly known to each other, and their conduct be ſubject to the cenſorial check of all.

6th. Every perſon elected a member of this ſociety ſhall, previous to his admiſſion, take the following *teſt*. But in order to diminiſh riſk, it ſhall be taken in a ſeparate apartment, in the preſence of the perſons who propoſed and ſeconded him only; after which the new member ſhall be brought into the body of the ſociety, and there vouched for by the ſame.

TEST.

TEST.

"In the awful preſence of God,

"I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that I will perſevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Iriſhmen of *every* religious perſuaſion, and that I will alſo perſevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate repreſentation of *all* the people of Ireland. I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or puniſhments, ſhall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on or give evidence againſt any member or members of this or ſimilar ſocieties for any act or expreſſion of theirs, done or made collectively or individually in or out of this ſociety, in purſuance of the ſpirit of this obligation."

7th. No perſon, though he ſhall have taken the *teſt*, will be conſidered as an United Iriſhman until he has contributed to the funds of the inſtitution, or longer than he ſhall continue to pay ſuch contribution.

8th. No communication relating to the buſineſs of the inſtitution ſhall be made to any United Iriſhman on any pretence whatever, except in his own ſociety or committee, or by ſome member of his own ſociety or committee.

9th. When the ſociety ſhall amount to the number of twelve members, it ſhall be equally divided by lot (ſocieties in country places to divide as may beſt ſuit their local ſituation); that is, the names of all the members ſhall be put into a hat or box, the ſecretary or treaſurer ſhall draw out ſix individually, which ſix ſhall be conſidered the ſenior ſociety, and the remaining ſix the junior, who ſhall apply to the baronial committee, through the delegates of the ſenior ſociety, for a number. This mode ſhall be purſued until the whole neighbourhood is organized.

Order of Buſineſs at Meetings.

1ſt. New members read declaration and teſt, during which ſubſcriptions to be collected.
2d. Reports of committees received.
3d. Communications called for.
4th. Candidates ballotted for.
5th. Candidates propoſed.

Conſtitution of Committees.

Baronial Committees.

1ſt. When any barony or other diſtrict ſhall contain from four to ten ſocieties, the ſecretaries of theſe ſhall conſtitute a lower baronial committee; they ſhould not exceed ten, and be numbered in the order of their formation.

2d.

2d. An upper baronial to conſiſt of ten ſecretaries from ten lower baronials.

3d. Baronial committees ſhall receive delegates from ſocieties of a contiguous barony, provided ſaid barony did not contain four ſocieties.

County Committees.

1ſt. When any county ſhall contain four or more upper baronial committees, their ſecretaries ſhall aſſemble and chuſe deputies to form a county committee.

2d. County committees ſhall receive delegates from baronial committees of adjacent counties, if ſaid counties do not contain four baronial committees.

Provincial Committees.

1ſt. When two or more counties ſhall have county committees, two perſons ſhall be elected by ballot, from each, to form a provincial committee (for three months).

2d. Delegates from county committees in other provinces will be received, if ſuch provinces do not contain two county committees.

National Committee.

That when two provincial committees are formed they ſhall elect five perſons each by ballot to form a national committee.

☞ Societies firſt meetings in November, February, May, and Auguſt, to be on or before the 5th, baronial committees on or before the 8th, county committees on or before the 25th of the above months.

Baronial, county, and provincial committees ſhall meet at leaſt once in every month, and report to their conſtituents.

Names of committee-men ſhould not be known by any perſon but by thoſe who elect them.

Teſt for Secretaries of Societies or Committees.

"In the awful preſence of God,

"I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that as long as I ſhall hold the office of ſecretary to this I will, to the utmoſt of my abilities, faithfully diſcharge the duties thereof.

"That all papers or documents received by me as ſecretary I will in ſafety keep; I will not give any of them, or any copy or copies of them, to any perſon or perſons, members or others, but by a vote of this and that I will at the expiration of my ſecretaryſhip deliver up to this all ſuch papers as may be then in my poſſeſſion."

RECAPI-

RECAPITULATION.

Societies to conſiſt of not leſs than four, nor more than twelve, complete twelve; under baronials of not leſs than four ſecretaries of ſocieties, nor more than ten, complete one hundred and twenty; upper baronials of not leſs than four baronial ſecretaries, nor more than ten, complete one thouſand two hundred.

An Addreſs of the County Committee of Dublin City to their Conſtituents; and an Appendix to our glorious Conſtitution.

MANY hardſhips and perſecutions having been, and ſtill continue to be ſuffered by the brotherhood, partly occaſioned by the miſguided zeal of ſome of its members; partly by the incautious and indiſcriminate admiſſion of perſons, without due regard having been had to their moral character, or ſufficient previous knowledge of their political ſentiments and patriotiſm; and partly by the arts and wicked contrivances of our *enemies*, to defeat our honeſt purſuits, by which we hope to reſcue our country from the ſyſtem of *corruption* which has nearly deſtroyed it; your committee think it neceſſary to recommend ſome alterations as remedies to thoſe evils, and as the means of reſtoring confidence, renewing exertions, and enabling ſocieties and committees to meet with eaſe and ſafety in future.

We recommend, in the moſt earneſt manner, your conſtant recollection of your ſolemn obligation, to promote a brotherhood of affection amongſt Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion; ſuffer it not to be a mere profeſſion, but realiſe it by every act of benevolence and kindneſs to each other, as circumſtances ſhall enable you, and as you would do to your natural brothers. Union and love are the foundations of your aſſociation, and they cannot be too ſtrongly or too frequently inculcated, in and out of your meetings.

Be ſober, and promote ſobriety in all your circles; by the obſervance of this, many inconveniences and much hazard will be avoided, and more good to yourſelves and loſs to your enemies will be thereby effected, than can poſſibly be calculated; to the ſame end it is recommended to abſtain as much as poſſible from the conſumption of exciſeable articles, or thoſe which pay high cuſtomary duties, ſuch as *wine*, *ſpirits*, *ſugar*, *tobacco*, *&c.*: you will thereby dry up the ſprings and ſources of *corruption*, that powerful engine in the hands of your cruel and implacable enemies. A government which draws its reſources from vice (ſuch as GAMBLING and DRUNKENNESS), muſt fall ſo ſoon as the people become virtuous.

We recommend the patriotic practice of preferring, on all reaſonable occaſions, the manufactures and products of your own country,

country, to thoſe of that country from whence our ſlavery is derived, and the government of which is our only natural enemy.

Baniſh all violent and intemperate language from your meetings: be aſſured, nothing can injure the cauſe of LIBERTY more than ſuch converſations; whoever perſiſts in ſuch, muſt either be diſhoneſt or indiſcreet, and therefore ought to be carefully avoided. Violent and intemperate language is affected by *ſpies* or *enemies*, and ſhould therefore be watched; or where it is cauſed by intemperate zeal, it ought to be corrected; for in this caſe it has afforded but too much occaſion to your enemies to calumniate your honeſt purpoſes.

APPENDIX.

Diminiſh, as much as poſſible, the riſk of giving or taking the TEST; for this purpoſe, therefore, we recommend that when any perſon has been admitted a member of a ſociety, and is to take the TEST, the practice ſhould be, that it be taken in the preſence of his friend only who propoſed him, or of ſuch other member of the ſociety, as he may prefer for that purpoſe. It is likewiſe ſtrongly recommended, that one black bean ſhould exclude from admiſſion.

Avoid, as much as poſſible, meetings in public houſes, either of ſocieties or committees, becauſe they might be attended with much danger, and the occaſions of meeting induce no ſuch neceſſity; a few minutes in any convenient place will be ſufficient for a ſmall number of men to confer on the objects of their deliberation

As it appears from good foundation, that an irregular ſyſtem of finance has produced a great waſte and diſſipation of the funds, it is our decided opinion, that no ſociety, committee, or treaſurer, under any pretence, ſhould be allowed to apply the money paſſing through their or his hands, to any occaſion whatever; but that the whole of the ſubſcriptions ſhould paſs unimpaired to the county committee, who ſhould be obliged, in reporting back to the ſocieties, to account for the diſpoſal of ſuch finances; of courſe all applications for pecuniary aid ſhould be made to the county committee, to which all the neceſſities of the political aſſociation muſt be reported. The ſocieties are earneſtly called upon to exert themſelves with zeal and diligence, in paying and forwarding their ſubſcriptions, for the demands are of the utmoſt urgency; the ſufferings and afflictions of the brotherhood greatly require alleviation.

It is alſo ſtrongly recommended, that each ſociety ſhall fix upon a weekly ſubſcription, ſuited to the circumſtances and convenience of its members, which they ſhall regularly return to their BARONIAL by the proper officer.

Your ſocieties ſhould be new-modelled immediately; and on the moſt mature deliberation, and all circumſtances conſidered, we are decidedly of opinion, that no ſociety ſhould conſiſt of more than *twelve members*, and thoſe, as nearly as poſſible, of the ſame ſtreet or neighbourhood, whereby they may be all thoroughly well known to each other, and their conduct be ſubject to the cenſorial check of all.

We recommend BARONIAL committees to conſiſt only of the ſecretaries for the time being, of *ten* ſocieties, which number ſhould on no account be exceeded; BARONIAL committes to be numbered in the order of their formation.

The DISTRICT committee to be compoſed of the ſecretaries for the time being of the BARONIAL committees, but not to exceed *ten members*; but if the baronials ſhould be ſo numerous in the DISTRICT, as to render it neceſſary, *five*, *ſix*, *ſeven*, *eight*, or any number, more or leſs, of the BARONIALS, as the caſe may require, moſt convenient to each other, ſhould each ſend their ſecretary to an UPPER BARONIAL committee, from which UPPER BARONIALS, in that caſe, ſecretaries ſhould be ſent to conſtitute the DISTRICT committee; it being earneſtly recommended that no committee, whether BARONIAL or DISTRICT, ſhould exceed *ten perſons*.

The COUNTY committee to be conſtituted, as at preſent, by *two members* from each DISTRICT committee.

Obſerving theſe recommendations and regulations, we rely that order will be reſtored and confidence revived, as riſk will be ſo conſiderably diminiſhed.

Auguſt 27th, 1797.

No. XXV.

Printed Hand-Bills diſtributed by the United Iriſhmen.

ADDRESS TO THE MORE WEALTHY CLASSES OF *UNITED IRISHMEN.*

YOU to whom fortunate circumſtances give a power of promoting the public cauſe, with ſo much general efficacy, and ſo little perſonal riſk; who may alleviate, from a portion of your ſuperfluities, the ſufferings of thoſe adventurous brethren, whom an over-ardent, but, on the whole, a neceſſary zeal, has ſubjected to the vengeance of government, whilſt a cautious reſerve has exempted moſt of you from perſecution; we call upon you in what we truſt is a well-founded confidence, that you will make up by pecuniary contributions, for the deficiency or neglect of other exertions. We know that all men cannot be uſeful in the ſame way,

way, and do not desire that men in delicate situations should run unnecessary hazards; but he surely is a lukewarm patriot, without title to confidence or credit, who goes no farther than barren professions; thinks it enough to give a *toast* to the cause of liberty, or utter some *sneaking condemnation* of the atrocities of government.

Unless it be your own fault, men of wealth and education, you will be the first to profit by the reform of abuses and solid independence of your country. You, for the most part, yet escaped from the vengeance of its enemies, whilst they who laboured to prepare it, have some of them been deprived of life, others lost health and fortune, some were hurried to distant climes, the regions of pestilence and death; and many, very many linger at this moment in the bastiles of our tyrants. Imprisonment, a thing so horrible in itself, is aggravated in the cause of those virtuous men, whose invincible fidelity an abandoned administration persecutes with the utmost rigour. The common attentions which humanity seldom refuses to felons and murderers, are frequently withheld from the United Irishmen; and being withheld by order (it is said) of those in high authority, require to be supplied by more than ordinary means.

As far as our funds could hitherto allow, some provision has been made for the wants of our brethren; but from the irregularity that has crept into the payment of subscriptions, and, with the exception of a few bright examples, the small obligation they as yet owe to the rich, our means are inadequate to the relief of our fellow-sufferers. Where an industrious citizen is torn from his employment or pursuits, lies captive in a dungeon; where a wife with her children is robbed of the protection of her companion, every person, a friend to the cause for which he suffers, and which his virtue scorns to betray, will feel the call of duty and of honour to come forward in his support.

If a trial at last be granted, *innocence has still to pay for being defended*; it has still to struggle with an host of *suborned* or *tutored* witnesses, a bar of *crown lawyers*, *packed juries*, sometimes *prejudiced*, sometimes *corrupt judges*, before whom a *charge* must be twice refuted, *malice* twice confounded, and *innocence made clearer than the sun*, to obtain a verdict of *acquittal*.

What under heaven can more forcibly interest the generous mind than the sufferings of the imprisoned United Irishmen, and the virtue of the sufferers? Whilst administration does not disdain to proffer immense sums as a lure to *perfidy* and the *purchase-money of blood*, it can procure but a few outcasts only, already abandoned to every species of vice; and the jails overflow with our persecuted, pennyless brethren: of these, several have scorned to save their lives by treachery to their glorious cause, but carried their principles and their secrets inviolate to the grave; and many

more at this hour, with the ſword of deſpotiſm threatening their exiſtence, hold them in their faithful boſoms, as in a citadel, which cowardice will not ſurrender, or lucre ever buy.

Oh, much-injured countrymen! ſo often contemned by your foreign oppreſſors, more culpably reviled by ſome unnatural natives of the land, traitors to your intereſts, and ſtrangers to your virtues; what nation can boaſt a higher character of honour, than you now confer upon your own? With the terrors of puniſhment and death on one ſide, the allurements of reward and impunity on the other, you inflexibly adhere to your plighted faith and obligations, and exhibit a proof of moral character and integrity, which few people have ever equalled—none have ever ſurpaſſed. Much-injured and gallant countrymen! a day will come when your magnanimous patience will be requited: IT SHALL NOT BE FORGOTTEN, that although your dwellings were deſtroyed, your little property laid waſte, though fear is a ſtranger to your hearts, and you loſt all you had to loſe, yet did you hearken to the voice of reaſon diſſuading from premature reſiſtance, which alone can bring ruin upon your country, or fruſtrate the brilliant deſtiny that awaits it.

Why ſhould Iriſhmen, bound to each other by ties ſo ſacred and ſo honourable, be found leſs zealous in each other's ſupport, than their enemies are zealous to put them down? If impriſonment be applied to torture, patriotiſm it cannot conquer; yet ſhall a brotherhood of affection go forth into the cell; and beſides the conſolations of ſympathy, carry with it the little comforts of which nature ſtands in need.

And if perchance this addreſs ſhould fall into other hands than thoſe for whom it was intended, we conjure ſuch people to beſtow one moment's diſpaſſionate reflection upon the *views* and *meaſures* of government, and the *object* and *proceedings* of the United Iriſh: let them determine which is better, a *free legiſlature*, or a *penſioned parliament*; a *national adminiſtration*, or an *irreſponſible foreign executive*; an *oblivion of religious animoſities*, or the *exterminating perſecution* of *Orange-men*. Let them, if they be CHILDREN OF THIS SOIL, contraſt the ſyſtem of IRISH UNION with that of ENGLISH DISSENSION; the fidelity, patriotiſm, and honour of the ſupporters of *one*, with the *polluted ſpy*, the *blood-thirſty magiſtrate*, the *mercileſs bravo*, the *venal* and *ſanguinary ſenator*, who rank as the friends of the preſent government. When they ſhall have compared the men and the meaſures, *they* will feel that their properties and lives will be moſt ſecure under the protection of the United Iriſh, and that their exaggerated fears of the effects of are volution can have no foundation, unleſs in their own MISCONDUCT.

IRISH-

IRISHMEN!

The period is faſt approaching, which muſt fix our deſtiny. The preſent rulers of Ireland have extended the ſyſtem of tyranny and extermination, as far as can be executed, without depriving them of worſhippers and ſlaves; not ſatisfied with fleecing the people, and mercileſsly expoſing them to penury and want, they glut themſelves with blood.—

> "See with what heat theſe dogs of Hell advance,
> To waſte and havoc yonder world, ſo fair
> And good created."

Ah! whence that noiſe? Cometh it from the ſpirits of murdered friends, the groans of impriſoned patriots? No; your groans ſhall not be heard in vain, you ſhall be revenged—ſoon ſhall we hail that auſpicious day, uſhered in by a bright and cloudleſs ſky, which ſhall ſet you free, accompanied by a general ſhout of *Ireland as it ſhould be*.—Tremble then, thou miniſter of death; ere that day arrives, fly from a ſoil which you have curſed by your counſels, which you have polluted by your crimes.

Countrymen,

Be firm: truſt in your ſtrength: be united. Before one month paſſes, you ſhall be free. Honoured patriots become more reſpectable by captivity. And you, ye virtuous fugitives, with hearts of ſterling worth, be not appalled at the gorgeous ſhow of power exhibited—a few declining ſuns, and it paſſeth away, never more to ſully our horizon. Be of good comfort, the hearts of the people are with you, and ſoon ſhall you receive the marked gratitude of a free people.

We are accuſed of a predilection for French principles—ſuppoſing the fact, who forced them on us? Men who have taken from us that which not enriches them, and makes us poor indeed; uſurpers, who exceed in perſecution the human ſacrifices of former ages. But they miſtake; we contend only for Iriſh rights; and whatever coincidence there be between the rights of Ireland and France, has been eſtabliſhed by the God of nature; and who ſhall impiouſly disjoin them?

Friends,

Liberty, like the great orb of nature, has its periods of darkneſs and effulgence; but let us not vainly imagine that what is only contingent, can interrupt the great plan of the Deity, in perfecting the happineſs of mankind. We, as a portion of intelligent beings, want not the moral freedom to will, nor the phyſical power to act. The firſt is confirmed by our union; and to ſupport our claim to both, half a million of heroes are ready—yes, they

only

only wait the ſecond coming, to commence the millennium of freedom.

And thou, noble-minded youth, whoſe princely virtues acquire new ſplendour, from a fervent zeal for your country's rights: oh! may the genius of liberty, ever faithful to its votaries, guard your ſteps—may the new harp of Erin vibrate its thrilling ſounds through the land, to call you forth, and hail you with the angelic cry of the deliverer of our country.

March 27, 1798. A CITIZEN.

TO THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

AT this awful and important criſis, when the tyrants of Ireland violate every tie that binds man to ſociety; when "*rigour beyond the law*" is avowed and practiſed by the governors, and adopted as a defenſive duty by the governed; when the judicial bench is made the ſeat of aſſaſſination; where Yelverton weeps over the victim in the refinement of cruelty, or Toler, with leſs equivocation, mingles the coarſe wit of an horſe-jockey with the ſolemnity of a ſentence that dooms an Iriſhman to death; when the ART OF PRINTING, that invaluable bulwark of liberty, that ineſtimable ſource of happineſs, that powerful opponent of deſpotiſm, is openly and contemptuouſly annihilated by the ſervants and ſlaves of a foreign government *aſſuming the mockery of legiſlators*, like a divan of *Saracens*, or a war-council of *Vandals*, ſweeping with barbarian ferocity every written monument of knowledge, every trace of letters from the face of the land:—worthy progeny of the firſt Engliſh invaders, whoſe ſavage legiſlation baniſhed inſtruction by tranſporting and hanging the Iriſh teachers, under the ſpecious pretext of eradicating the catholic faith:—infamous oppreſſors! how unlike the generous ambition of ancient Rome, who carried the arts into the countries ſhe conquered; ſhe poliſhed the nations into which ſhe bore her eagles: where *your* banners waved you created enormity, barbariſm, and extermination: as a French orator truly ſaid, "you would rather reign over a church-yard, than ceaſe to govern."

When an O'Connor is hunted from his country, and a conſpiracy made in the Britiſh cabinet againſt his life, for the crime of loving Ireland; when Fitzgerald is a fugitive, for ſacrificing the prejudices of birth to accelerate the happineſs of his country, and repelling with the arms of juſtice that infamous power that burns the peaſant out of his dwelling, or puts him on the bayonet; when the honourable trade of a merchant, the peaceable one of a phyſician, the learned profeſſion of a lawyer, the humble one of a huſbandman or an artiſt, are no protection againſt a perſecution that is directed againſt the virtue and integrity of Iriſhmen, that will eradicate the name of Ireland, if not

ſpeedily

ſpeedily checked in its horrid career by an united appeal to Heaven, which will ultimately give to our armed exertions the means of victory, liberty, and terrible juſtice.

In the preparative interim, let ſobriety be national and unchangeable; by abſtaining totally from the uſe of *ſpirituous liquors* you will deſtroy the exciſe, which is the only branch of revenue remaining, from whence is produced the *principal ſtrength of government*; you will prevent the diſtillation of grain, which conſumes nearly *double the quantity* that is otherwiſe uſed for the neceſſaries of life; you will conſequently make bread one-third cheaper, benefit the community, and embarraſs your enemies.

To promote this deſirable object, let the following teſt be taken:—

"I, A. B. do ſolemnly promiſe, by the obligation of an U. I. which I have taken, that I will not make uſe of any ſpirituous liquors, nor ſuffer them to be uſed where I have any influence, for months, nor will I aſſociate with any perſon who will violate this ſacred obligation."

IRISHMEN!

A NEW act of baſe and perfidious tyranny, directed againſt the whole of the patriotiſm of Ireland, though immediately and perſonally operating only on a few individuals, has deprived us for a time of the countenance and conſolation of honeſt and able men, whoſe only crime is the ſuſpicion of being your friends. Our oppreſſors, deſpairing to effect by the moſt ſubtle refinements of legalized murder, by partial ſheriffs, by packed juries, and by judges ſanguinary, timid, or corrupt, the deſtruction of the victims whom they had pre-doomed to die at the approaching aſſizes, ſo long as they could leave them the protection of faithful and eloquent advocates known to be zealous in their cauſe, and pledged to their defence, have robbed the latter of liberty, in order to rob the former of life.

That adminiſtration, and that legiſlature, who ſo lately told you *there was no conciliation for Ireland*, have, with perfect conſiſtency, followed up this denunciation of carnage and proſcription, of fire and ſword, of robbery and rape. This explicit and unequivocal *declaration of war* on the Iriſh people, by a proceeding which leaves not a ſhadow of doubt or ambiguity to diſguiſe their intentions; which forces four hundred thouſand fighting men, the phyſical ſtrength of Ireland, to make, in convenient time, their final option between death and ſelf-defence, and which proves, by evidence more than palpable, that this nation and that adminiſtration cannot exiſt together.

Yet has this, their laſt treaſon, like all their former ones, turned with an overwhelming recoil upon themſelves. On the memorable day, which ſaw ſo many virtuous and reſpectable ci-

tizens of Dublin dragged ignominiouſly to priſon, by arbitrary mandates *unſupported by information on oath*, confuſion and trepidation marked the conduct of the oppreſſors, while the unclouded ſerenity, the calm unaſſuming fortitude of conſcious innocence, beamed from the countenance of the oppreſſed. With mingled horror and contempt, the capital ſaw the *prime miſcreant*, the Robeſpierre of Ireland, the nefarious author and apologiſt of atrocities without name and number, appalled by the mere gaze of Iriſh eyes, and ſhaking in a paroxyſm of rage and terror, while the murderous weapon trembled in his palſied hand, the ſtrong thirſt of blood ſtruggling in vain with the ſtill ſtronger impulſes of conſcious guilt and native cowardice.

For us, the keen but momentary anxiety, occaſioned by the ſituation of our invaluable friends, ſubſided, on learning all the circumſtances of the caſe, into a calm tranquillity, a conſoling conviction of mind, that they are as ſafe as innocence can make men now; and to theſe ſentiments were quickly added a redoubled energy, a tenfold activity of exertion which has already produced the happieſt effects. *The organization of the capital is perfect.* No vacancies exiſting, arrangements have been made, and are ſtill making, to ſecure for our oppreſſed brethren whoſe trials approach, the benefit of legal defence; and the centinels whom you have appointed to watch over your intereſts, ſtand firm at their poſts, vigilant of events, and prompt to give you notice and advice, which, on every occaſion at all requiring it, rely on receiving.

This recital, Iriſhmen, is meant to guard thoſe of you, who are remote from the ſcene of the late events, againſt the conſequences of miſrepreſentation and miſtake. The moſt unfounded rumours have been ſet afloat, fabricated for the double purpoſe of deluſion and intimidation. Your enemies *talk* of treachery, in the vain and fallacious hope of *creating* it; but you, who ſcorn equally to be their dupes or their ſlaves, will meet their forgeries with dignified contempt, incapable of being either goaded into untimely violence, or ſunk into puſillanimous deſpondency. Be firm, Iriſhmen, but be cool and cautious; be patient yet awhile; truſt to no unauthorized communications; and above all we warn you, again and again we warn you, againſt doing the work of your tyrants, by *premature*, by *partial* or *divided* exertion. If Ireland ſhall be forced to throw away the ſcabbard, let it be at *her own* time, not at *theirs*.

Dublin, March 17th (St. Patrick's Day) 1798.

TO THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

Countrymen,

NO moment was ever ſo awful to Ireland as the preſent one—liberty or ſlavery is now before us. That the deciſion is in your hand,

hand, I am well assured. Glorious prospect! The people of Ireland are UNITED. Show the pitiful tyrants who calumniate you—show Europe—show the world, that you are a *band of brothers*, actuated by a sense of honour, virtue, and patriotism—show an example of the effects of your principles in Armagh. The hills and vallies which were lately stained with blood, are now covered by the *real* spirit of the gospel; and peace, and love, and charity, and union reign in the hearts of IRISHMEN!—Look at this, ye traducers, ye dividers, ye devourers of Ireland. Yes, thank Heaven, we are UNITED, and that our enemies know right well. Let not the honest indignation of your virtuous souls provoke you to a word or an action unworthy of your country or your cause, when you hear yourselves termed "a nest of execrable and infamous traitors." You must learn to smile at the impotent attacks of malignant despair.

Look at the map, says a ministerial character, and you will find that Ireland *must* belong to England or France. What occasion to look at the map, or why employ the word *must?* But, if this be the decree of Fate for Ireland, let it be done with unanimity, with love, and with power; let no internal broils, no local situations, no religious opinions, ever provoke an *Irishman* to spill the blood of an *Irishman*.

But let us, for the sake of our common interest, for the sake of our common country, for the sake of our common God and Father, go with one hand and one heart *together*.

Trouble not yourselves whether France is to send 40 or 50,000 troops here; whether England is to send 40 or 50,000 troops here; but turn your attention to *Ireland*—think of what she was, what she is, and what she *may* be. Think, that, were you to divide as in *former days*, and one part to seek protection and assistance from one of those powerful nations, the other party from the other nation, what carnage and rivers of blood would ensue—slavery would follow, and Ireland be undone, perhaps for ever. But in your UNION is your safety—in your UNION is your strength, your importance, and your liberty. In whatever scale your weight is cast, it will preponderate in an instant. He is your enemy, and the man of blood, who would divide you—he is your friend, and the man of peace, who would keep you together.

I am far from assuming so much importance, as to attempt laying down a plan of conduct at this critical period. Your obedience to the laws, your sobriety, industry, prudence, and patience, have rendered you the envy of your enemies, and make any thing I could say unnecessary.

Your will must prevail—let it then be matured—let it result from reflection—from cool, determined adherence to your prin-

ciples—from a regard to the peace of your country—from the glorious love of liberty and the *Iriſh* name.

If your hearts pant after a continuation of the Britiſh miniſter's behaviour to Ireland—if you admire the war, the conduct of the war, and the conſequences of the war: if you be ſatisfied that three-fourths of the people of Ireland ſhould not enjoy the benefits of the conſtitution—that the very name of reform ſhould be ſcouted with deriſion—if the ſuſpenſion of the trial by jury, the convention bill, the gunpowder bill, the proclamations and baſtiles, appear eligible and ſalutary, you will have no difficulty how to conduct yourſelves. But ſhould theſe things appear to you in a different point of view, it will be neceſſary, perhaps, to conduct yourſelves in a different manner. And that that manner may terminate in the glory, liberty, and happineſs of Ireland, ought to be the honeſt wiſh of every *honeſt*

IRISHMAN.

No. XXVI.

Fabricated Rules and Regulations of the Orange Men.

AS an inſtance of the arts uſed to make the Orange aſſociation an occaſion of exciting in the breaſts of the lower claſs of catholics the moſt malignant and vindictive paſſions—the following ſeries of fabricated rules and regulations, intended to be conſidered as thoſe of the Orange men, are here inſerted. The copy from which they are tranſcribed was found in the houſe of *Marlay*, a taylor, in Hoey's-court, but ſimilar copies were frequently found both on the perſons and in the houſes of United Iriſhmen.

1ſt. Reſolved unanimouſly, that each and every member be furniſhed with a caſe of horſe piſtols and a ſword; alſo that every member ſhall have twelve rounds of ball cartridges.

2d. Reſolved, that every man ſhall be ready at a moment's warning.

3d. Reſolved, that no member is to introduce a papiſt or preſbyterian, quaker or methodiſt, or any perſuaſion but a proteſtant.

4th. Reſolved, that no man wear Iriſh manufacture, nor give employment to any papiſt.

5th. Reſolved, that every man ſhall be ready at a moment's warning to burn all the chapels and meeting-houſes in the city and county of Dublin.

6th. Reſolved, that any man that will give information of any houſe he ſuſpects to be an United Iriſhman's will get the ſum of 5l. and his name kept private.

7th. Reſolved, that no member will introduce any man under the age of nineteen, or over the age of forty-ſix.

No.

No. XXVII.

Extracts from the Union Star, and Press.

UNION STAR.

THE Union Star appeared at irregular periods, was printed on one side of the paper, to fit it for being pasted on walls, and frequently second editions were published of the same numbers. It chiefly consisted of names and abusive characters of persons supposed to have been informers against United Irishmen, or active opposers of their designs; and to such lists were generally added the most furious exhortations to the populace, to rise and take vengeance on their oppressors. Each number commences with the following words:

" As the Union Star is an official paper, the managers pro-
" mise the public that no characters shall be hazarded but such
" as are denounced by authority, as being the partners and crea-
" tures of Pitt, and his sanguinary journeyman, *Luttrell.*

" The Star offers to public justice the following detestable
" traitors, as spies and perjured informers.

" Perhaps some arm more lucky than the rest may reach his
" heart, and free the world from bondage."

Then followed the lists of proscription, of which, from the wanton cruelty with which individuals are brought forward, as objects of popular odium, it is impossible to give an example: the exhortations with which each number concluded, may be judged of from the following extracts:

Extracts from the Union Star.

" LET the indignation of man be raised against the impious wretch who profanely assumes the title of reigning by the grace of God, and impudently tells the world *he can do no wrong.*— Irishmen! is granting a patent, and offering premiums to murderers to depopulate your country, and take your properties, no wrong? Is taking part of the spoil no wrong? Is the foreign despot incapable of wrong, who sharpens the sword that deprives you of life, and exposes your children to poverty, and all its consequent calamities? Oh, man! or rather less, Oh, king! will the smothered groans of my countrymen, who in thy name fill the innumerable dungeons you have made for asserting the rights of man, be considered no wrongs? Will enlightened Irishmen believe you incapable of wrong, who offers up the most amiable of mankind daily on the scaffold, or the gibbet, to thy insatiable ambition? Is burning the villages of what you call your people, and shooting the trembling sufferers, no wrong? Is taking the church into partnership, and encouraging its idle

and voluptuous drones to deſpoil induſtry of its reward, and teach a lying doctrine to ſanction their injuſtice, no wrongs? Are the continual wars you engender and provoke to deſt oy mankind, no wrong? Go, impious blaſphemer! and your hypocritical ſorcerers, to the fate philoſophy, juſtice, and liberty conſigns thee. 'Tis inevitable, thy impoſitions are detected. Thy kind have been brought to juſtice. The firſt poſſeſſor of thy trade has recently bled for the crimes of the craft; his idle and vile followers, who eſcaped the national axe, are walking memorials of juſtice, begging a miſerable livelihood over thoſe countries, whoſe tottering thrones encourage but an uncertain aſylum. Ere the grave, which is opening for thy deſpiſed perſon, emboſoms thee, make one atonement for the vices of thy predeceſſors; reſiſt not the claims of a people reduced to every miſery; in thy name give back the properties that thy nation wreſted from a ſuffering people; and let the deſcendants of thoſe Engliſh ruffians reſtore to Iriſhmen their country, and to their country liberty. 'Tis rather late to trifle; one fortunate breeze may do it; and then, woe be to him who was a tyrant, or who is unjuſt."

No. 2.

"Inſurrection and revenge, however deſcribed or diſcountenanced by the abettors of tyranny, ſhould always be reſpected by a people, as they have operated powerfully towards the preſervation of liberty and the diſtribution of juſtice. As revolutions in every age and country were acts contrary to laws then in exiſtence, they conſequently were inſurrections. The thing called in England a revolution in 1688, juſtifies the aſſertion; and in the Declaration of Rights, the men who drew it up, and the people who read it, defended and admired the virtue and neceſſity of reſiſtance to oppreſſion. The revolutions of France and America were founded on inſurrection; and before them the Portugueſe and Dutch revolutions. Antiquity furniſhes many ſplendid inſurrections; amongſt others, the celebrated one of the Roman people retreating to the Mons Sacer, and defending themſelves by wholeſome regulations from the privileged patricians—the Luttrells, Fitzgibbons, and Scotts of the day. Hiſtory ornaments her page with the bold ſtruggles, as honourable, edifying, and worthy of imitation by ſuffering humanity. Revenge! glorious revenge! your name is as ſweet as liberty; as Paine ſays, 'He that would not puniſh cruelty offers a pre-'mium to vice,' or, as Ganganelli expreſſes it, 'Mercy to the 'wicked is cruelty to the worthy."—The Iriſhman who would not expiate the burning of his cabin, by the burning of a tyrant's palace, is acceſſary to his neighbour's deſtruction; or he, whoſe father, ſon, or brother, has been murdered by Britiſh or Iriſh mercenaries, would not revenge the deed, by immolating

any of his country's oppreſſors, is beneath a man, and is the murderer of his kindred by connivance. The horrors committed in our country by our Engliſh maſters, centuries ago, demand vengeance; when killing an Iriſhman was only fineable, many proofs of which are exiſting. We ſhall cite one: at a general gaol delivery at Waterford, the 4th of Edward II. before John Wogan, lord juſtice of Ireland, an Engliſhman accuſed of murder, pleaded, in bar of judgment, that the perſon killed was an Iriſhman. The tying of catholic clergymen back to back, and drowning them in the Shannon — the Engliſh plan of ſtarving whole counties, is loudly boaſted of by Engliſh writers; we need not reſort to the calendar of Engliſh cruelties —they are again revived; and Ireland, moiſtening with the blood of her children, loudly calls for glorious revenge. United Iriſhmen, be ſteady and perſevering; liberty and juſtice point the road to glory; the delivery of our country is at hand; your labours will be rewarded; your juſt revenge will be gratified; the ghoſts of your martyred countrymen will be comforted; and an equal diſtribution of rights will be yours: induſtry will be honoured, induſtrious age venerated, pregnant wives reſpected; and the plough, the ſhuttle, and the ſhip ſhall give their bleſſings unſhackled. Be not caſt down, nor hopeleſs: the genius of Ireland will give aid to your endeavours; the mitred mountebank ſhall reſign his lands for the education of deſerted infancy, and the care of induſtrious age. The lands which royal villany arreſted from murdered Iriſhmen, ſhall be the rewards of the deliverers of their country. No more will the lazy lord enjoy the fruits of your labour, and ſtarve you into the ranks, to pleaſe his ambition or extend his power. No more ſhall inceſſant toil be your fate. No more ſhall you be as you have been for centuries, rearing and watching the ox and the ſheep, whoſe fleſh you never taſted, or whoſe fleece never warms you. No more ſhall you be doomed to threſh or ſow the corn you never were allowed to ſee in bread. If the want of Liberty has expoſed you to ſo many calamities, heſitate not a moment; ſhe is with you, and one bold exertion will place her in the centre of your country, where her avenging ſpirit ſhall deliver her enemies into your hands, and deliver your immured brethren from captivity, your fields from ſuperſtitious plunder, and eſtabliſh the empire of univerſal benevolence and fraternity from Wicklow Hills to Belfaſt—from the Channel to the Atlantic; and let every honeſt man ſay, Amen—and every brother do his duty."

No. 3.

"IRISHMEN! recollect and know who are the men who rival Robeſpierre; nay, exceed him in horrors and crimes; that depopulate your country; that burn your fields and villages.

Turn

Turn over the page of hiſtory as written by Engliſhmen—you will ſee Ireland's preſent ſufferings, at which your nature muſt ſhudder, your juſt indignation awaken into wiſhes, and exertions that muſt be fatal to your oppreſſors, and glorious to yourſelves. Look at what are called Acts of Parliament—the 17th year of Charles I. confiſcating three millions of acres at one ſitting, and ſelling them to Engliſh adventurers, on the conditions of having and holding them by exterminating the ancient Iriſh proprietors! Remember that the lapſe of years does not juſtify any right in your *maſters* to retain the *property of your fathers*. That ſtage ſhould not conſecrate error. That the lights thrown on the rights of man by philoſophy and truth, gives you encouragement to hope that the French teachers, and deliverers of Europe, will ſanction your claims, and ſecond your ſtruggles. The Star does not *unjuſtly* adviſe a thought that would injure the proprietor of an eſtate, acquired by mercantile or mechanic induſtry. The Star only aims at thoſe properties wreſted from our murdered anceſtors by Engliſh perfidy; which reminds the preſent holders, that they muſt perform the agreement on which they poſſeſſed the territory, and in which they are not deficient, as they have revived every enormity that royal villany can encourage. Ireland, bleeding at every vein, preſents the horrid ſpectacle; and her innumerable wounds, as ſo many tongues, cry to Heaven and liberty for juſtice. When Engliſh tyrants could no longer provoke rebellion, which was a fruitful excuſe for confiſcating Iriſh property, they enacted a law to make murder high treaſon, which empowered the king to become the *heir* of the convicted perſon—the thing was a *ready mode* of robbing a *ſpirited* or *rich* family, and reward an Engliſh *favourite*; to effect which, an informer was procured, who was always ſure of doing his buſineſs, as property inſured conviction—an innocent man was hanged, and his family reduced to beggary. High treaſon, in other caſes, was another method of plunder: in England, two witneſſes were neceſſary; but, as Iriſhmen were to be deſtroyed, no mode was admitted; the king *graciouſly* beſtowed on a *faithful follower* the eſtate of an innocent Iriſhman, convicted on one evidence, eaſily and readily at hand to ſwear high treaſon on any unfortunate man of property. Thoſe acts are *ſtrong reaſons* for *loving* the Lord's *anointed*; who iſſue their royal warrants in the following *humane* and *pious* manner:

"George, by the grace of God. We command you to burn "the town of Belfaſt, &c.: ſuch is our royal pleaſure."

"Burning a town by the grace of God, and by a man calling himſelf the *father* of his *people*, might be ſtrong reaſons for ſaying, 'From ſuch grace, and ſuch parents, O Lord, deliver us.'

"IRISH-

" IRISHMEN! your country is repreſented by brethren of ability and virtue; they plead your cauſe at Liſle; they negotiate for an independent Iriſh republic in the teeth of that diplomatique ſpy Malmſbury; they are countenanced and encouraged by the French commiſſioners; and we have ſome hopes that Ireland will be ſeen in the political map of Europe, when her cowardly cruel ſtep-ſiſter is conſigned to the inſignificance her crimes juſtly merit. Should ſome unfortunate event put off your delivery, by England purchaſing an immediate peace, you ſhould not deſpond! Peace will be only temporary; it may be productive of ſome political comforts, as we then may openly praiſe and ſtudy the glorious truths France is capable of proclaiming. Communication with that country will be revived, and liberty will gain new ſtrength, and knowledge be more univerſal; conſequently deſpotiſm muſt die, and Iriſhmen will go to the funeral.

" We have ſeen a paper, as it is called a proclamation, with the name Camden prefixed, and the nick-names of Clare, Carhampton, Drogheda, and Clonmell; and the real names of Pelham, James Cuff, J. Monk Maſon, Arthur Wolfe, James Fitzgerald, and Lodge Morres, underſigned, attempting to hurt the Union Star, by naming it a vehicle for inviting aſſaſſination.

" The Union Star, in the opinion of honeſt Iriſhmen, will not be leſs valuable for exciting the diſpleaſure, or encountering the threats of the above-named, whom we know to be part of the ſtanding committee for burning villages and catholic chapels; murdering fathers, mothers, and children indiſcriminately, without regard to the prayers of age, the tears of infancy, or the entreaties of beauty. This depopulating ſociety think themſelves ſecure from every law except aſſaſſination; their objection to which awes them into many ſchemes, for ſtamping with their imaginary conſequences infamy on any inſtrument in favour of liberty. Though we are not advocates for aſſaſſination, we know, on the authority of hiſtory, that aſſaſſination preſerved the liberties and reſcued many of the ancient republics from the power of aſpiring villains, who raiſed themſelves on the neck of the people, and on the ruins of liberty. 'Twas a poſitive law in Corinth, Rome, Athens, Syracuſe, &c. that any citizen was juſtified, and ſhould be rewarded and honoured as the deliverer of his country, who would aſſaſſinate any villain aſpiring to the ſovereign power, or infringing the rights of the people.

" The Union Star has more conſolatory hopes of United Iriſhmen than aſſaſſination. It ſees with pleaſure the head quarters of liberty in the centre of delivering Europe, with coloſſal ſtrength gathered from the ruins of thrones, of privileged order

and

and ſuperſtition, carrying liberty and hope to Ireland! The Union Star riſes with happy anticipation at the unavoidable moment, when the tyrants of Ireland muſt reſtore the plunder of ages to the country; when their acres will be brought to the national hammer, to pay the debts that were contracted by idleneſs, and laid on induſtry."

No. 5.

"We are conſtantly witneſſing the impudent affectation of cowardly moderation acting in partnerſhip with tyranny, againſt the Union Star, which they accuſe of inculcating principles of aſſaſſination.

"We certainly do not adviſe, though we do not deſcry aſſaſſination, as we conceive it is the only mode at preſent, within the reach of Iriſhmen to bring to juſtice the royal agents, who are conſtantly exerciſing rape, murders, and burnings, through our devoted country.

"We appeal to thy noble and venerated name, O Brutus! who bravely aſſaſſinated the tyrant of your country amidſt his cohorts, and in the preſence of his penſioned ſenate. It is not our ſolitary ſuffrage that has attempted to honour thy name, and worſhip thy ſpirit. The patriot, the ſage, and the hero, in every honourable ſtate of life, for eighteen centuries, have given thy name the firſt and moſt unequivocal recommendation to the admiring earth, as one that deſerves the higheſt rank among the benefactors of the human race.

"Yes! prince of patriotic aſſaſſins! thy noble and virtuous ſpirit ſhould pervade our land; the infant whom a Britiſh, or a Britiſh Iriſh butcher, has left fatherleſs, ſhould be taught, through his progreſs to manhood, that thy example ſhould be rigidly imitated, as an honeſt duty to his parents and his country. The Iriſh ſeaman, maimed in the ſervice of his country's tyrant, whoſe banners he often led to victory, perhaps, at the ſame moment when his aged mother lived to ſee her daughter violated by a horrid ſoldiery, who had mingled the aſhes of her huſband with thoſe of their humble habitation—in ſuch a ſon, aſſaſſination would be a holy duty, commanded by nature, and approved of by Heaven. Thus we defend aſſaſſination, and clear it from the rubbiſh of ignorance, and the falſehoods of deſpotiſm, which were too often ſucceſsful in confounding the characters of the man who deſtroyed a tyrant, and him who, to gratify private revenge, or urged by avarice, might ſell himſelf to murder an innocent fellow-creature."

Extracts

Extracts from a Newspaper called the PRESS, published in DUBLIN *in the Winter of* 1797.

PRESS, No. 8, 14th Oct. 1797.

" When such restraints are laid on the press, that the people are held in ignorance, and from that ignorance know neither their own duty as members of the state, nor yet the duty of those who are set over them, or, to speak more properly, those who have *set themselves* over them, it may fairly be concluded *that the government*, where this ignorance prevails, is verging fast to its dissolution."

Same.

" The rule of right is a rule that in morals should never vary; but, in these kingdoms, to preach up *royalism* is the best rule; and the wisdom of government protects those who embrace this right side of the question, while it punishes with equal rectitude those who maintained that a *republic* is the only right form of government;—let us apply this rule to the continent. France is not a nation of fools; and some amongst them have as much sense (God forgive them) as *****; but no matter. The fools of France tell you, that monarchy is a coat of arms, whose supporters are the church and the aristocracy—its crest, the bloody hand; and its motto, *Odi profanum vulgus*; but that democracy not possessing these *rampant* wits, is the ægis of wisdom, whose *right rule* should govern the world; now these are *two rules of right*, both appearing on opposite principles, both pronounced to be the very best for the government of man, and each declared superior to the other in excellence; yet a man shall be punished alternately for observing this or that, according to the air which he breathes."

Press, No. 9. Oct. 17th, 1797.

" *The United Irishmen* recommend to each other temperance, patience, peace, and non-resistance (heinous crimes): they do not wish for reform or emancipation, because they never asked for any such thing—no! This is a little odd.—But what is the conspiracy? A conspiracy of truth against falsehood,—a conspiracy of peace and liberty against war and slavery,—a conspiracy of love and national union against hatred and civil disfraction,—a conspiracy of reason, justice, and virtue, against cruel oppression, inhumanity, and vice."—" *And we will say farther, if the King and his people do not unite or conspire (call it by what name you please) against the mad, wicked, blood-thirsty ministers, who have conspired against both, God can only tell how soon the people will lose their beloved King, or he his faithful, but wretched people.*"

Press, No. 10. Oct. 19, 1797.

After a comparison of the conduct of Lord Yelverton on Orr's

condemnation to that of Judge Jefferies, follows: "*At this criſis*, ſo full of horror, we have a conſolation in thinking that certain atrocities can live only till they are underſtood; they are hideous ſpectres, which vaniſh with the morning. The mere executions of military force, terrible as they are, go no farther than the branches, and may be endured; but the blow that is levelled at the root of ſociety is a warning to mankind, that "*if they do not awake, they muſt ſleep for ever; there is no alternative between liberty and deſtruction, and if they are too abject to claim freedom as a right, they m ſt fly to it as a refuge.*"

Same.

"IRISH REBELLION.

"Monday next will be the anniverſary of what is *uſually called* the Iriſh rebellion. Far be it from us to juſtify the cruelties *ſaid* to have been committed by ſome of the inſurgents of that day, &c. But whatever thoſe cruelties may have been, *they* cannot have given riſe to the epithet, *Rebellion*; that, if juſt, muſt be warranted by the objects and demands of the inſurgents. —[Here follows a large expoſition of their demands.] Oh, Ireland! what is to be thy *futiure* deſtiny? If the myſterious workings of Providence ſhall withhold from us thoſe bleſſings after which we pant, will our poſterity calumniate their forefathers, and ſhall *our failures* be matter of triumph to *our* children? But no; it cannot be—the honeſt, and, we truſt, the peaceable exertions of *United Ireland in favour of freedom muſt* ſucceed. The queſtion of forfeited property is, thank God, by common conſent, at reſt; and we will not, like our anceſtors, mar a national cauſe by ſectorial quarrels; we ſhall have no controverſies about which ſet of prieſts ſhall enjoy the archbiſhopricks, biſhopricks, deanries, and other ſpiritual promotions; let us then perſevere with patience, moderation, firmneſs—Whatever Aſcendancy men, or Orange men, may attempt, *the cauſe of Iriſh liberty muſt finally prevail, ſupported as it is, by a "brotherhood of affection amongſt Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion.*"

Preſs, No. 13. Oct. 26, 1797.

"But, my Lord [to the Lord Lieutenant on Orr's execution], it will not do—though your guards, and your ſoldiers, and your thouſands, and your tens of thouſands, ſhould conduct innocence to death—it will not do.—A voice has cried in the wilderneſs, and let the deſerted ſtreets of Carrickfergus proclaim to all the world, that good men will not be intimidated; and that they are yet more numerous than your ſoldiers."

No. 9. Oct. 17, 1797.

"*The United Iriſhmen* are every where knocked down by the hacks and runners of adminiſtration, with all the rancour of political

tical fanaticiſm; while the Orangemen, who have ſolemnly ſworn to exterminate his Majeſty's Roman catholic ſubjects, are the only perſons protected and cheriſhed by the Engliſh cabinet. *If then any branch of his Majeſty's oppreſſed ſubjects in Ireland are driven to ſeek foreign protection, who is to blame, the oppreſſed or the oppreſſors?*"

No. 18. No. 7, 1797.

"TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

"For ſhame! for ſhame! what are you afraid of? The miniſter is as timid as he is inſolent—your patience has made him proud; your humility has made him haughty; your firmneſs will make him fearful. But if the time of recovering your liberties is gone by, if your doom of ſervitude is ſealed, if you are to be ſlaves, at leaſt, forge not your own fetters, nor fit them with your own hands—let them be forced upon you, and let Europe ſee that you do not wear them with willingneſs and eaſe; remember that though life is precious, liberty is the gem that gives life its luſtre. Aſſert your rights; demand the conſtitution of your forefathers; let not the blood of Hampden, Sidney, and Ruſſell, have flowed in vain. Recommend yourſelves to God, and, if neceſſary, in defence of liberty, *die* in the laſt ditch."

No. 17. Nov. 4, 1797.

"Examples are not wanting, if examples could avail, that tyranny has no terrors for a mind reſolved, and that confederated multitudes can overpower the beſt diſciplined troops. France has confirmed this new-diſcovered truth, and France has afforded a leſſon of moderation to the ſovereigns of Europe."

Same.

"*The fatal Battle of Aughrim.*

"Mourn, loſt Hibernia, ever mourn
Thy freedom loſt, thy laurels torn,
Thy warriors ſunk on Aughrim's plains,
And Britain loading thee with chains."

No. 23. Nov. 18, 1797.

"Should thoſe deſperate Frenchmen be inclined to approach our ſhores, as they have threatened this ſeaſon, and not meeting *Commodore Winter* in the ſame bluſtery temper, ſhould they chance to effect a landing, there can be no manner of doubt but the peaſantry of the country, conſidering the ſignal gratitude of the legiſlature and government ſhown to them, for their former loyalty and promptitude in the national defence, would riſe *en maſſe*, and meet the enemy *in open arms*."

Same.

"The ever memorable *capture* and *deſtruction* of the *Baſtile* is

 a ſtriking

a ſtriking and awful example to tyrannical governments, of what even *unarmed* citizens can do againſt diſciplined force, entrenched in the ſtrongeſt fortifications, if once rouſed by a ſenſe of injuries, and an enthuſiaſtic love of liberty, to ſhake off at once their *fears* and their *chains*."

No. 24. Nov. 21, 1797.

"I muſt warn you, that if you hope to unite, the eaſe and indulgence, both mental and bodily, of untroubled times, with the agitations of party, you will be ſorely diſappointed. The preſent times will require uncommon firmneſs, large ſacrifices, ſevere privations, and laborious exertions; but how ſhall you eſcape them, could you deſire it? you muſt fly from your native land, you muſt renounce your ſituation in ſociety, many of your moſt valuable connexions; you muſt diveſt yourſelf of the patriot feeling towards your country, which includes all the beſt affections, and univerſal charities of the univerſal boſom. And whither would you fly? In what quarter of the habitable globe can you dream of finding untroubled and permanent repoſe, amidſt the general convulſion which ſhakes the *genius* and the *moral inſtruments?* It is not only more manly and more honourable, but alſo more prudent, to march with countenance erect, a volunteer, into the patriot ranks, than to be forced to the painful alternative of becoming one of the ſatellites of tyranny, one of the oppreſſors of your country, one of the butchers of your brethren; of joining the patriot band, at a future day, reluctantly, and ungraciouſly, and of bringing an acceſſion of ſtrength, without deſerving gratitude or honour.

"Above all, do not deſpond of the republic. Believe me, it ſhall not be loſt. The preſent ſilence of the people is not the ſilence of fear and deſpondency, but of diſcretion—the public cauſe is not abandoned, notwithſtanding the terrors of military execution, &c.; but the day *muſt* come when the people ſhall firmly rally round the conſtitution, and range themſelves boldly under the ſtandard of freedom."

No. 26. Nov. 25, 1797.

"What thinks royalty now? how ſtands its account with the world? is it at laſt convinced of its madneſs and vanity, in oppreſſing the will of a great, but oppreſſed nation, *once determined* to be free?"

In the letter to Lord Carhampton, under the title of Satanides, is the following paſſage:

No. 27. Nov. 28, 1797.

"It was indeed to be lamented that you ſhould periſh by the ſtroke of *private juſtice*, and defraud the executioner of his right, and the nation of its example. Were you this moment ſurrounded by the juſtly enraged populace; were their arms raiſed

to

to inflict the desired doom, I would throw myself among their poniards, I would endeavour to rescue you from their fury. I would intercede for your hated life—I would say, 'Suffer him to pollute the air a little longer; degrade not the majestic exertions of the people, by employing them on so base an object. The day comes when justice shall prevail, when Ireland shall raise her head from the dust, and perform a solemn sacrifice to the constitution—on that awful day of rejoicing to the good, and terror to the wicked, *a few victims may be required*; and this wretch may be included in the number, and meet the ignominious doom of a traitor."

No. 27. Nov. 28, 1797.

"Gracious God! for what misery are we reserved? when such atrocities are stamped with the praise of spirit, and when it is proclaimed to the republic of France, that the natives of this devoted country are thus hunted down like wild beasts, by their own nobility and gentry; when we see the *address of Hoche, offering liberty and protection*, answered by the manifesto of *Lord Grenville, denouncing slavery and blood.*"

Same.

"Let not your ill-judged violence, let not those divisions that are villanously sowed amongst you, provoke the Father of Justice to punish your cruelty to one another, with condign rigour; be assured, though 'sorrow lasteth for a night, that joy cometh in the morning.' Be patient, be firm, and the same unanimity that makes common calamity supportable, will, be assured, make united effort irresistible."

No. 29. Dec. 2, 1797.

"Erin, daughter of the main,
When shall thou thy rights regain?
Soon, oh! soon, thy standard *green*,
Proudly flying shall be seen.
Soon thy heroes crowd the plain,
Freedom marching in their train;
Echo all along the shore,
Shall repeat the cannon's roar.
Tyrants' blood in streams shall flow,—
Prostrate fall the haughty foe." &c. &c.

No. 29. Dec. 2, 1797.

"To the STUDENTS of TRINITY COLLEGE.

"You, my fellow-students, have explored the page of history; where the infect courtier is forgotten, the despot is blasted in infamy, *and the glorious tyrannicide is immortalized.* Can you remember one instance of a people naturally brave, and wanting

wanting but the will to be illuſtrious, ſuccumbing to the domination of their own ſervants, their minions, and paſſively agonizing under the extremities of oppreſſion?—No; Ireland is ſingular in ſuffering, and in cowardice; ſhe could cruſh her tormentors, and yet they embowel her; ſhe *could* be *free*, yet ſhe *is* a ſlave.

Preſs, No. 30. Dec. 5th, 1797.

"There are many reaſons for doubting that the Engliſh government will venture on their favourite ſcheme of removing our militia. Without an act of parliament they dare not attempt it, as they well know that the Iriſh militia, in ſo juſt a cauſe, would reſiſt force by force, and be ſupported, in ſuch reſiſtance, by every honeſt man in the nation."

No. 32. Dec. 9th, 1797.

"We recommend the proclamation of General Buonaparte to the Ligurian republic, to the moſt ſerious conſideration of the Iriſh patriots. It is a proclamation that breathes the moſt tender ſentiments of moderation and morality, and teaches us that the beſt cauſe is endangered, and the pureſt motives counteracted by violence and paſſion. Above all, it is a leſſon to the tyrants of Europe, as it teaches them that they cannot delude their ſubjects by falſe colourings of "French liberty;" and that wherever the French have carried their arms, they "have deſtroyed corrupt governments, and led the people to exiſt with glory."

No. 34. Dec. 14th, 1797.

Monaghan Aſſizes. "Among thoſe convicted, many of whom were catholics, were the two only ſons of an innocent and venerable old man of the name of Johnſton, a proteſtant diſſenter;—the eldeſt for *taking arms* in the town of Glaſlough, *to prevent the diſarming of the county by the military*;—the other, for *ſimply adminiſtering the United Iriſhman's oath*. The eldeſt was pardoned—the youngeſt hanged, it is ſaid by miſtake, &c. The youth, who was 17 years of age, walked undaunted to the place of execution, and met death with a compoſure that argued a mind *unconſcious of guilt*."

No. 35. Dec. 16th, 1797.

"Such is now the effect of politics, that family diſputes are become very frequent by the contrary opinions entertained, and we conſtantly hear of *two ſiſters* who are for ever grumbling; and who, we think, would, as our countryman ſays, "agree better together, *if they were aſunder*."

No. 36. Dec. 19th, 1797.

"The catholics and preſbyterians are united in indiſſoluble ties, like dying martyrs, in a common cauſe, priding themſelves in mutual good offices, and for ever abjuring the barbarous fanaticiſm that made them hate each other. From the proteſtants of the

the eſtabliſhment, every man of worth, of talent, or of honour, has ranged himſelf by their ſide; and nothing now remains againſt *Iriſh union* but 25,000, as near as may be, of bigots, hirelings, and dependents, juſt enough to furniſh the Lord Lieutenant with addreſſes."

Same.

"TO IRISH WOMEN.

"In political changes you have been frequently the actuating principle; then, oh! determine to act for the melioration of your country in the *mighty criſis which awaits her*.

"It is abſurd to ſuppoſe that there is not a preponderancy of rectitude either on the *part of the government*, or *of the people*; if then juſtice be on one ſide of the queſtion, impartiality is not only puſillanimous, but criminal. I only urge you to *inveſtigate, and chooſe* your opinions. This is your bounden duty; if you perform it, and abſtract the conſideration from prejudice, I have no doubt you will determine as you ought; I have no doubt that Erin will have to boaſt a race of daughters, as patriotic as they are fair—as magnanimous as they are lovely. I know your arms are not ſinewed to buffet the ſurge of war; you have a far different field for exertion; be it yours to conciliate, to animate, to perſuade. Truth, in its moſt ſtern and rugged form, is reſpectable; but, when it aſſumes the guiſe of woman, it is irreſiſtible."

No. 39. Dec. 26th, 1797.

"TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

"The day is faſt approaching, when you will be ſtruck with a ſenſe of your duty, but perhaps too late when promiſes and threats will be equally deſpiſed by a people determined to *be free*."

No. 39. Dec. 26th, 1797.

A Chriſtmas-box to the readers of the Preſs, concluding, after recommending ſobriety and orderly behaviour to the United Iriſhmen: "In vain would the coward, who lurks for a moment, when ſucceſs may determine him to come forward to reap a harveſt which he has not ſown, expect that ſuch cold-blooded policy will avail him. *He may eſcape the puniſhment by which many guilty perſons muſt prepare to make atonement for their public crimes*; but contempt and impunity can be his only reward."—"Laſtly, in the language of the great apoſtle, "We charge ye, brethren, that you love one another; for it is a goodly thing to dwell together *in unity and brotherly love*;" and *when your courage and conſtancy ſhall have triumphed over your oppreſſors, yours may yet be the delightful prerogative of tempering juſtice with mercy*."

No. 41. January 2d, 1798.

"TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

"Be ſteady, my friends; for without ſteadineſs, reſolution is a weak

weak virtue. Your ſufferings cannot always laſt, and Europe may yet ſee you *forgiving* thoſe who now whip and ſcourge you." —"Government, even the worſt and wickedeſt, is ſtill government, and *while it laſts*, ſome reſpect is due to it. Submiſſion to preſent circumſtances will demonſtrate how worthy you are to participate of that reform, in purſuit of which the beſt have bled, and which, be aſſured, your virtue muſt attain."

Same.

"But the night of ſorrow is receding, and the day-ſtar of liberty riſes faſt upon it—The philoſophy that has enlightened the continent, approaches to illuminate your iſle—She rides upon the waves, and navies ſink before her; ſhe ſteps upon the ſhore, and armies diſappear. *Her* virtue is *your own*; for philoſophy is truth, and truth is ſucceſs."

No. 43. January 6th, 1798.

"It is both dangerous and unprofitable to oppreſs the poor. If it ſhould happen that the ſoldiery and the people ſhould make one common cauſe, as they have common intereſt and common feelings, the rich muſt prepare to make way for new poſſeſſors, and, when it is too late, repent the honeſt warnings which our faithful columns have ſo often afforded them."

No. 44. January 9th, 1798.

"The union of brotherhood is daily increaſing in Scotland, to the great annoyance of his Majeſty's miniſters."

No. 47. January 16th, 1798.

"United Iriſhmen—Their meetings were made felonies—They ſteadily kept their ground; they have been, like the early chriſtians, perſecuted, put to death and torture—they have ſtill perſevered; at one time 100,000 men were made felons by a parliament, *of which we do not mean to ſpeak any more*; they were driven to more ſolemn obligations of fidelity and ſecrecy. We believe they are now, with the exception of a few thouſands, commenſurate with the population of the nation.

"May they ſtill be merciful, temperate, and juſt! They may, perhaps, ſoon have an opportunity of ſhowing, by acts of mercy and forgiveneſs, more ſublime than fortune has yet put it into their power to exerciſe that virtue, which it ſhall be our province to cultivate and foſter."

Same.

"This day the Lord Lieutenant and the King's Parliament went to Chriſt's Church, to return thanks for the *laſt* victory."

No. 48. January 18th, 1798.

"TO THE YEOMEN OF IRELAND.

"Some of you, perhaps, may think you have an intereſt in a life of bondage;—grievouſly will you find yourſelves miſtaken;

a day

a day of reckoning will come when the utmoſt farthing muſt be paid. Look around you; count the millions that are burſting their chains, and ſay, which has the majority; *you* or the *nation?* Adhere to that duty from which no oath can abſolve you: *Protect your country and its laws.*

"But your King——The hiſtory of your country has told you, that allegiance and protection are mutual; and that, could the monarch violate the laws, your oath of allegiance would be an oath of *reſiſtance.* Will you be the Iriſh "gentry," that, Lord Grenville ſays, join in the murders of their country? Or would you not rather be that generous Iriſh people, who, he ſays, *do* reſiſt abuſe."

No. 48. Jan. 18th, 1798.

"THE DISUNITED MEN.

"The Diſunited Men ſay, there can be no conciliation with *traitors*; we hope however, that, *traitors* as *they are*, *they* will find "that mercy which they did not ſhow," ſuch of them at leaſt, as are not ſteeped to the very eyes "in crimes of deadly hue:"—Arſon, conſpiracy, ſubornation, perjury, and murder, cannot be forgiven. Libels and cheats may be forgiven; folly and malice deſpiſed.—Ponder on this, ye diſunited men."

Preſs, No. 51. Jan. 25th, 1798.

"TO THEIR HIGH MIGHTINESSES THE GENERALS, LIEUTENANT-GENERALS, &c. NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, DRUMMERS, AND PRIVATES, NOW EXERCISING THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND.

"The PETITION of the poor afflicted People of Ireland, *united in Misfortune* and Affection to each other, and in humble Duty to your Highneſſes, &c.

"We do dutifully implore your Highneſſes to do all ſeeming juſtice towards yourſelves; and ſeeing how little profit and advantage there is, or has been, in deſtroying the habitations, &c. of your *poor* and dutiful ſubjects; and ſeeing how many palaces and caſtles, &c. there be in the hands of your inveterate enemies, &c. and many biſhopricks, rectories, and other offices in church and ſtate there be; We, therefore, pray your Highneſſes to take the ſame to your non-gracious *uſe*, and to conſider what goodly biſhops, judges, lawyers, ſpeakers, marquiſſes, counſellors of ſtate, and taſters of wine, your Mightineſſes would make, and above all, how much *eaſier* is the *burden of ſpending a few thouſand pounds by the year, than that of carrying a knapſack and firelock, as the greater part of you at preſent do*; and we *pledge ourſelves to aſſiſt you* in the ſaid juſt and neceſſary undertaking—*for God and for man—for religion—for our rights and liberties—for magna charta—the bill of*

rights—the trial by jury—and our moſt bleſſed conſtitution in church and ſtate," &c.

No. 52. Jan. 27th, 1798.

From Mr. ROGER O'CONNOR's Third Letter.

"Thanks to the God of nature, who works by means inſcrutable to mortal ken, Grenville, Pitt, and Jenkinſon, have done wonders; *they have nearly realized our fond hopes of ſeeing thoſe abuſes, which have hitherto withſtood the ineffectual ſtruggles of divided kingdoms, fall proſtrate before the moderate, but determined exertions of united nations.*"

No. 56. Feb. 6th, 1798.

"TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"We have received a dialogue between a venerable old countryman and a ſoldier, in which the countryman ſeduces the ſoldier from murder and robbery; but ſhows, that even though it be loyal, and for the good of religious and ſocial order, to murder and plunder, *it is both ſafer, and more profitable, to rob the rich than the poor.*"

No. 57. Feb. 8, 1798.

"The PEOPLE.

"Happy would it be for their oppreſſors, were the preſent ſilence of the people *the ſilence of death*; but, thrice happy for the people, it is only the *ſilence of ſleep*. The night is nearly ſpent, and the morning breaks *******. Your Lordſhip (the Lord Lieutenant) may have the happineſs of ſeeing, that the Iriſh people *are as valiant in the field*, as they are patient under *torture*, and reſigned at the *ſcaffold*."

No. 58. Feb. 10th, 1798.

"The preſbyterian of Ulſter wiſhes for life only that he may ſee his *country free*, and all the people partaking equally the rights and privileges of citizens; *nothing leſs is their object than the independence of Ireland, and the freedom of all its inhabitants.* Truſt me, the preſbyterians of Ulſter do by no means wiſh to ſee you ſit down contented with cold catholic emancipation, as a *gift* from any government: no; they wiſh to ſee you, by their own energy, reſcue yourſelves from that oppreſſion you have ſo long laboured under; and in doing ſo, they are ready to *riſk* every thing in the common cauſe."

No. 58. Feb. 10th, 1798.

"What a glorious proſpect opens to the view of every honeſt Iriſhman! The adminiſtration is reduced to this dreadful precipice, that if it moved forward, it is daſhed to pieces; and if it attempts to retreat, certain deſtruction is its fate. Thus, in the very nature of things, the diſſolution of the preſent ſyſtem is inevitable; and the freedom of Ireland is as certainly approaching,

as the noontide blaze advances from the early dawn. A little patience will ſoon terminate our ſufferings. Perſeverance in union, and brotherly affection, will, for the preſent, alleviate them. We hear of your ſufferings and your *virtues*; we are alſo ſuffering with you in the ſame cauſe; and the time is not far diſtant, when our *paſſive virtues, impregnated with the active ones*, ſhall procure for Ireland her rights; ſhall hurl confuſion and deſtruction on her enemies; ſhall avenge the manes of her ſlaughtered patriots, indemnify the ſufferings of thoſe who may eſcape the proſcription, and conſolidate the everlaſting glory, happineſs, and peace of Ireland."

No. 61. Feb. 17th, 1798.

"TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

"Your maſters are alarmed: they will propoſe a reform in parliament, not ſo much to divide you (for that they know is impoſſible), as to paralyze your efforts, and to ſhake that which they cannot pull down. Truſt them not.—Whilſt they thought you diſunited and unable to reſiſt tyranny, they reviled and inſulted you; but at the name of the Great Nation, they ſhrunk into their own worthleſſneſs: already they hear its thunders breaking on their heads, and ſee its armies pouring deſtruction on them. While thoſe thunders rolled at a diſtance, they deſpiſed the noiſe; for men are apt to be brave when they apprehend no danger; but as the ſound approaches, their dread increaſes with its nearneſs, and, appalled at the power they had ſo often defied, they lower the loftineſs of their air, and aſſume the tones of moderation, &c. If they be ſincere in their profeſſions of reform, let the axe be laid to the root. What ſignifies the clippings and ſhearings of a few withered leaves, while the whole trunk is rotten? Let the tree be cut down and caſt into the fire, it has but too long cumbered the ground.—Beware of them; when they have over-reached you and got you in their power, they will return to their old ſyſtem, and afterwards laugh at you. Neither muſt you hope a ſecond time to be relieved,—but be *ſteady, and do not act profanely, thwart not that kind Providence which is working your deliverance.*"

No. 61. Feb. 17th 17th, 1798.

"We muſt deplore his (Col. Manſergh St. George's) death, as the melancholy conſequence of that pernicious ſyſtem of Pitt and his aſſociates, which by hollowing the *rich* againſt the *poor*, the proteſtant againſt the papiſt—weakly endeavours to prevent an union, which muſt terminate in the deſtruction of their power, and the puniſhment of their crimes; a very ſhort time however will expoſe thoſe aſſaſſins in their true colours."

No. 63. Feb. 22d, 1798.

"What a people can do, the people of North America have

done; what a people ought to do, the people of Ireland are conſidering."

Same.

"The Preſs will continue to its laſt hour to deſpiſe its adverſaries; and be it ſilenced when it may, it will live in the remembrance of Iriſhmen, whoſe union is now complete, *who know their duties* and *will* perform them."

"The diſpoſition to repel oppreſſion and maſſacre, are clearly augmented by the late determination to purſue, and of conſequence to increaſe rigorous meaſures againſt the people of this land; but men, when inſpired by liberty, will not long deliberate on adopting what nature prompts, Freedom, or——ELSE."

PRESS.

Extract from a Letter in No. 68 *of the Preſs, which was ſeized on the Day of its intended Publication, addreſſed to the Author of Coercion.*

My Lord, the ancients entertained a ſuperſtition that in certain circumſtances men were irreſiſtibly impelled by ſome ſecret power to their own deſtruction; or, to uſe a word which ſeems to be immediately derived from the ſuperſtition, that they were infatuated; ſuch, my Lord, at preſent ſeems your ſituation.—You ſeem to ſhut your eyes on the ſituation of this country--you ſeem incapable of deriving any advantage from the example of another country—The hand of fate ſeems upon you, and you ſtill go on as fooliſhly confident, and as madly gay, as the inſect that flutters round the torch, or the bird that cannot reſiſt the faſcination of the ſerpent's jaws that are extended to devour him.

I know, my Lord, you plume yourſelf on the imaginary ſafety of your ſituation. But pride not yourſelf any longer on that circumſtance; deceive yourſelf no more; I tell you, you are in danger: think not to ſcreen yourſelf behind the ſhield of parliamentary ſupport; repoſe not on the deluſive promiſes of military protection: they will avail you nothing in the dread moment of national retribution, and amid the confuſion of revolutionary vengeance.

At ſuch a moment, if unhappily perſerverance in your preſent conduct ſhould induce it, the ſacred perſon of the judge will not be reſpected; your elevated ſituation will not protect you; the formalities of trial may be laid aſide; the cautious and eſtabliſhed rules of evidence may be exploded: at ſuch a juncture the forms of law may not be inſulted to juſtify your execution. There will be no neceſſity for ſuborned teſtimony, or intoxicated jurymen, to procure your condemnation. Ireland can afford the cleareſt evidence of your crimes: the unanimous voice of its inhabitants will pronounce you guilty; on ſuch an occaſion, our diſguſt againſt

againſt the duty of executioner will be ſuſpended, and men will contend for the honour of terminating ſo deſtructive an exiſtence.

Extracts from a Collection of Songs, entitled, The Iriſh Harp new ſtrung.

The new Viva la.

Tune—*Willy was a wanton Wag.*

Muſe of energy and fire,
Stretch abroad thy boldeſt wing;
Freedom calls! aſſume the lyre,
Freedom calls! ariſe and ſing.
Viva la, long live the people
Free from care and ſlavery:
Viva la, Hibernia;
Man will ſurely ſoon be free.

Sing the captive's broken chain,
Sing the tyrant's wither'd arm,
Mad oppreſſion ſtorms in vain,
Freedom's breath has broke the charm.
Viva la, &c.

Slavery's baſtile rear'd its head,
Deep the ſtrong foundation lay,
Loſt in its tremendous ſhade,
Nations mourn'd the abſent day.
Viva la, &c.

All the ghaſtly regions round,
Stretch'd immenſe a hideous wild,
Miſery hop'd and horror frown'd,
Men deſpair'd and demons ſmil'd.
Viva la, &c.

Sudden ſounding from afar,
Freedom's awful voice was heard;
Glorious as the morning ſtar,
Soon Liberty herſelf appear'd.
Viva la, &c.

Triumph ſhining in her eyes,
Beams of heavenly ſplendour ſhed,
Kindling up the glowing ſkies,
Darkneſs ſaw and midnight fled.
Viva la, &c.

Down the Gothic ſtructure then
Thunder'd on the builders' heads;
Slaves beheld, and ſprung to men,
Tyrants ſaw, and ſhrunk to ſhades.
Viva la, &c.

Storms

Storms and tempeſts howling flew,
Deſolation left the ſcene,
Gales of vernal fragrance blew,
Nature blew in flowery green.

Viva la, &c.

Freedom, ſtill extend thy ſway,
Boundleſs may thy influence run,
Univerſal as the day,
Everlaſting as the ſun.

Viva la, &c.

Plant, plant the Tree.

Tune—*Daffy hi down dilly.*

1ſt.

See, Erin's ſons, yon riſing beam
The eaſtern hills adorning,
Now freedom's ſun begins to gleam,
And break a glorious morning;
Deſpotic ſway from France is chas'd,
And church deluſions vaniſh'd,
Our iſle ſhall never be diſgrac'd
If theſe dread fiends were baniſh'd.

Chorus.

Plant, plant the tree, fair freedom's tree,
'Midſt danger, wounds, and ſlaughter;
Erin's green fields its ſoil ſhall be,
Her tyrant's blood its water.

2d.

They come, they come; ſee myriads come
Of Frenchmen to relieve us:
Seize, ſeize the pike, beat, beat the drum,
Then come, my friends, to ſave us;
Whilſt trembling deſpots fly this land,
To ſhun impending danger,
We ſtretch forth our fraternal hand
To hail each welcome ſtranger.

Plant, plant the tree, &c.

3d.

That Caſtle which through ages paſt
For deſpots was appointed,
You, ſovereign people, claim at laſt,
For you're the Lord's anointed:

The

The uſeleſs baubles that adorn'd
Our late Vice-royal ninnies,
Now to the crucible return'd,
Produce you uſeful guineas.

Plant, plant the tree, &c.

4th.

Thoſe nicknames, Marquis, Lord, and Earl,
That ſet the crowd a-gazing;
We prize as hogs eſteem a pearl,
Their patents ſet a-blazing,
No more they'll vote away our wealth,
To pleaſe a King or Queen, ſirs,
But gladly pack away by ſtealth,
Or taſte the guillotine, ſirs.

Plant, plant the tree, &c.

5th.

Our Commons too, who ſay ſo ſooth
They repreſent the nation,
Shall ſcamper eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth,
Or feel our indignation;
The Speaker's mace to current coin
We preſently will alter,
For ribands lately thought ſo fine
We'll fit each with a halter.

Plant, plant the tree, &c.

6th.

No more our tithes we'll grumbling throw
To thoſe who on us trample,
But, where he wills each man ſhall go
To reaſon's pureſt temple;
Erin go brah, each choir ſhall ſing,
The heart oppreſs'd to cheer, ſirs;
Not thoſe curs'd ſounds, "God ſave the King,"
Diſcordant grate our ears, ſirs.

Plant, plant the tree, &c.

7th.

The nation's bank has been put up
To ſwindling moſt completely,
To forgeries it e'en can ſtoop
On guinea notes ſo neatly,
And when it gets your ſolid coin,
The cuſtom-houſe marauder
Will forgery in red letters join
To the back of Townly Lawder.

Plant, plant the tree, &c.

8th.

8th.

Thoſe lawyers who with face of braſs,
And wigs replete with learning,
Whoſe far-fetch'd, quibbling quirks ſurpaſs
Republicans' diſcerning;
For them, to ancient forms be ſtaunch,
'Twill ſuit ſuch worthy fellows,
In juſtice ſpare one legal branch,
I mean, reſerve the gallows.

Plant, plant the tree, &c.

9th.

And when th' all-glorious work is done,
Rejoice with one another,
To plough-ſhares beat the ſword and gun,
Now ev'ry man's your brother;
Deteſted wars ſhall ever ceaſe
In kind fraternization,
All will be harmony and peace,
And the whole world one nation.

Plant, plant the tree, &c.

The Fatal Blow.

Tune—*Over the Hills and far away.*

Come, come my countrymen, advance,
Charge your muſket, point your lance;
Proclaim your will from ſhore to ſhore,
Till tyranny ſhall be no more.

Too long have tyrants rul'd the land,
Too long you ſpare the ruffian band;
The blood by vile oppreſſors ſhed
Calls vengeance on each guilty head.

To you in this deciſive hour
Avenging fate entruſts her power;
Then haſte to ſtrike the fatal blow,
And puniſh each tyrannic foe.

No. XXVIII.

Printed Papers againſt taking Bank Notes, and purchaſing Quit Rents.

A CAUTION TO THE BRETHREN.

THOSE appointed by you to ſuperintend your intereſts, have from time to time ſent you ſuch advice, or information, as they were enabled from reflection or inquiry to offer for your advantage and the general good.

Still actuated by the ſame principle of zeal and fidelity, they deem it their duty to caution you againſt the immenſe quantity of bank notes, which government is fabricating without bounds. We need not tell you that the value of any bank note reſts upon the credit of him who iſſues it. And, in our opinion, the iſſuer of this paper is a bankrupt, who, in all likelihood, muſt ſhortly ſhut up, and *run away*. The preſent convenience of circulation will be but poor amends for the ſubſequent beggary and ruin it will bring on the holders; for you know it will be waſte paper, and muſt ſtop ſomewhere as ſoon as there is a *burſt*, and that the poſſeſſor *(God help him)* will be robbed of ſo much property as he has taken it for.

Sometimes people accept of rap-halfpence for the convenience of change; but that is by far not ſo fooliſh as taking theſe bank notes; for a tinker or braſs-founder will give you ſomething for baſe metal: but when the government *goes down*, theſe fine notes of theirs, with ſtamps of *hundreds and thouſands* upon them, will not fetch *a penny a pound* at a ſnuff-ſhop. Beſides, government has a great many guineas in the banks and elſewhere, which there is a deſign of hoarding up againſt the *hard puſh*, when theſe folks are very certain their bank notes will not be worth as much as the old rags they were made of. But if you'll not give the government contractors or commiſſioners your goods without *hard caſh*, they muſt ſhell out the *gold*. What is the worſt that can happen to you, but to ſell ſomewhat leſs, until the want of your commodities makes them pay for them in proper coin; or if your don't ſell, is it not better for you to have your goods than to give them *for nothing?*

THE UNITED IRISHMEN
TO THE
LANDED AND MONIED INTERESTS OF IRELAND.

WHEREAS it has been propoſed by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* to ſell the *quit-rents* of the crown, in order to raiſe new ſupplies for the proſecution of this unjuſt, unneceſſary, and ruinous war; now we, the UNITED IRISHMEN, impelled by

a ſenſe of public duty, and a ſincere regard to the *rights of property*, think fit to give you this public caution, that no ſuch fraudulent tranſaction, conſuming by anticipation the reſources and future revenues of the nation, will be ſufficient to ſtand good in the event of a revolution and a free legiſlature; a fair and ſolid bargain muſt have the ſanction of due authority: but this, as well as every other loan or contract now in agitation, is in itſelf invalidated by the nefarioufneſs of its object, and the incompetency of the preſent parliament to bind the nation by any act whatſoever, as it is notorious to the whole world that it was named by the crown, under the *terrors of martial law*; that there exiſts in it no freedom of action, but that it is the bought baſe inſtrument of ſupporting an exterminating government and foreign dominion.

After this let the dupes blame themſelves.

No. XXIX.

Extract from the Trial of Daniel Gillan, Owen M'Canna, William M'Canna, and Peter M'Carron, Privates in the Monaghan Regiment of Militia, held at Belfaſt on the 8th of May 1797, on the following Charges:

1ſt. For exciting, cauſing, and joining in a mutiny and ſedition in the ſaid regiment.

2d. For not uſing their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs ſaid mutiny and ſedition, being preſent thereat; and alſo for not giving information without delay to their commanding officer, of ſuch mutiny or intended mutiny, as ſoon as they came to the knowledge thereof.

The firſt witneſs, corporal John Reel, depoſed, "I met Daniel Gillan and Owen M'Canna one day in North Street; Gillan aſked me what I thought of the plan he had laid out—I then aſked him what it was—he told me it was to get articles from the town's-people to form ſocieties in the regiment. I ſaid I did not think there were ſcholars good enough in the regiment to carry on the buſineſs; he made anſwer, and ſaid, that he and Owen M'Canna were ſcholars good enough to carry on that and more: we then appointed a meeting for that night at the houſe of one Griffin, in Blue Bell Entry; we met accordingly at Griffin's houſe, myſelf and the three priſoners, Daniel Gillan, Owen M'Canna, and William M'Canna; we went up ſtairs, called for ſome beer, and ſent for Griffin, but he was not in the houſe that night. The priſoners and I together, with ſome others whoſe names I do not now recollect, went to Griffin's the next night, and we ſent down for Griffin, and he came up

ſtairs

ſtairs to us—Daniel Gillan ſpoke ſomething to Griffin, and Griffin would not ſay any thing concerning it, until Owen M'Canna aſſured him I was an United Iriſhman, and that he need not be afraid; Daniel Gillan then told him what we were come about. Daniel Gillan ſaid that he expected Griffin would do as much as he could to aſſiſt us; Griffin ſaid he would do as much as he could, but he was ſure he could do nothing until ſuch time as a ſtricter account was given in of what United Iriſhmen were in the regiment, and at that meeting Griffin deſired us to appoint two of the ſteadieſt men that were amongſt us to go with their returns to a committee in town, and that he would go with them to a committee or ſociety where they would get a return of the number of United Iriſhmen in Ireland and in the French fleet; and Griffin ſaid, unleſs ſocieties were formed amongſt the men themſelves, that they never could be of any uſe to the town's-people, and to let every news that was be made known to them, ſo as that upon a ſignal to be ſettled by the town's-people, and given to a confidential man to be made known to all the reſt, they might turn out of their ranks, and to be poſitive there were no traitors amongſt them; and our buſineſs upon turning out was to join the town's-people and the mob.—Daniel Gillan made mention of Robert M'Adam, a grenadier, and deſired us to be cautious of him, and to caution all men that we knew to be United Iriſhmen againſt him, as he had been ſworn by a perſon in the town to diſcover or find out any of the men who were United Iriſhmen.—William M'Canna then ſwore that if Robert M'Adam ever found out or diſcovered of a man in the regiment, that he would murder him.—Owen M'Canna then ſaid that not only him but any other man in the regiment that ſhould make any diſcovery ſhould meet with the ſame. We then fell to and appointed one man of each company to make a return of United men in their different companies, which return was to be made in ſome time after, as ſoon as they could get it done.—Daniel Gillan was appointed to inform the men that were not there of their being ſo appointed, and he, Gillan, was appointed to make a return of captain Lucas's company—Owen M'Canna was appointed for the major's, and William M'Canna for colonel Leſlie's. We then waited for about a fortnight or three weeks, and had a meeting at the houſe of one Crozier, of Union Street, when we all came in, namely, myſelf, the priſoners, and others. I came in the laſt: we called for ſome beer; after drinking ſome beer, we got in pens, ink, and paper—Daniel Gillan called on Patrick M'Canna to give in his return for the grenadiers, and as the returns were given in Owen M'Canna wrote them down, and when it came to captain Lucas's company, the return, as I beſt recollect, was twenty-five, and Gillan exclaimed and ſaid, we were dilatory in not putting the

men up, as we ſhould do, and having the veterans perfected; we ſwore in three ſecretaries. The three priſoners then ſaid, it was unneceſſary for them to ſwear, as they had been ſworn before, and I was objected to as a ſecretary, not knowing how to read or write. They then aſked me (the entire that was there) if I knew who was the beſt ſcholar in the company I belonged to, and if I did, to bring him forward to be an United Iriſhman, in order to ſwear him to be ſecretary to the company. I agreed on doing ſo: we then fell to, and voted for two of the ſteadieſt men to go with the return to the town's-people. Owen M'Canna, the priſoner, and John Wilſon, were appointed to go with the returns. Daniel Gillan ſaid, by the time we got an anſwer from the town's-people, that we would get every news, and a ſtate of all the United Iriſhmen in Ireland, and of every news from the French fleet, and a return of the United Iriſhmen in the Engliſh fleet, and when the trouble broke out, upon a ſignal given, if it was by day-light, the men would turn out of the ranks, and if it was by night, if it could be ſo contrived, an United Iriſhman ſhould be ſentry at the gate, who was to ſell the barracks, and ſuch United Iriſhmen as were within the barracks were to exert themſelves in ſeizing ſuch arms and ammunition within as they could get.

SENTENCE.

"The court having taken into their conſideration the whole of the evidence given in ſupport of the charges preferred againſt the priſoners, and alſo what was offered by the priſoners in their defence, find the priſoners guilty of the charges preferred againſt them, in breach of the third and fourth articles of the ſecond ſection of the articles of war, and do therefore adjudge them to ſuffer death."

Extract from the Trial of John Ward, Arthur M'Cormick, John O'Neill, and Bernard Lunny, private Soldiers in the Louth Regiment of Militia, held at Limerick, on the 15th of May, 1797, on the following Charges:

For mutiny and ſedition, and endeavouring to excite the ſame.

On a queſtion from the proſecutor to the evidence, Jeremiah Daly, he anſwered, that "None but O'Neill ſaid, that the French would be here; the four priſoners, M'Cormick, Lunny, Ward, and O'Neill, ſaid, that when the French came, the United Iriſhmen would be all one with them; and O'Neill ſaid, that, by knowing the ſigns, I would be ſafe, but cannot tell the exact time when it was ſaid, but it was often repeated by O'Neill."

SEN-

SENTENCES.

"The evidence being cloſed, and the priſoners withdrawn, the court took the evidence into their conſideration, which had been laid before them, and do find the priſoner, John Ward, guilty of the charges preferred againſt him, being a breach of the 3d and 4th articles of the 2d ſection of the articles of war; and do therefore adjudge, that he ſhall ſerve as a ſoldier, for life, in any of the corps ſtationed in any of his Majeſty's dominions, beyond the ſeas, or in foreign parts, that his Majeſty ſhall think fit.—The court have not awarded a ſevere puniſhment to the priſoner, on account of his youth, and on account of his having voluntarily come forward, and ſurrendered himſelf to his commanding officer, to whom he owned the entire of his guilt, before any crime had been laid to his charge.

"The court do likewiſe find the priſoners, Arthur M'Cormick and John O'Neill, guilty of the crimes preferred againſt them; being a breach of the 3d and 4th article of the 2d ſection of the articles of war; and do therefore adjudge, that they ſhall ſerve as ſoldiers for life, in any of the corps ſtationed in any of his Majeſty's dominions beyond the ſeas, or in foreign parts, that his Majeſty ſhall think fit.—The court do likewiſe find the priſoner Bernard Lunny guilty of ſedition, and endeavouring to excite the ſame, being a breach of the 3d and 4th articles of the 2d ſection of the articles of war; and do adjudge, that he ſhall ſerve as a ſoldier for ſeven years, in any of the corps ſtationed in any of his Majeſty's dominions beyond the ſeas, or in foreign parts, that his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to order."

Extract from the Trial of Bernard Gilmore, James Mallan, Thomas Wall, Patrick M'Mullen, and Edward Woods, private Soldiers in the Louth Regiment of Militia, held on the 24th of May 1797, on the following Charges:

1ſt. For joining in mutiny and ſedition.

2d. For coming to the knowledge of intended mutiny and ſedition, and not endeavouring to ſuppreſs the ſame; and for not, without delay, giving information thereof, to their commanding officer.

On a queſtion from the proſecutor to the evidence, John O'Neill, he anſwered—"When I was in company with Bernard Gilmore and James Mallan, the way I heard it explained, that when the French ſhould come, we were to be ſuch as them, that there was to be no rich, but all equality, and that there was no uſe in our going againſt the French, becauſe when all powers were againſt them, they could make no hand of them."

SEN-

SENTENCE.

" The court, in conſideration of the evidence laid before them, do find the priſoners, Bernard Gilmore, Thomas Wall, and Edward Woods, guilty of the crimes laid to their charge, and do adjudge that they ſhall ſerve, for their reſpective lives, as ſoldiers abroad.—And the court having, on the evidence laid before them, found the priſoner James Mallan guilty of not, without delay, giving information of the ſedition to his commanding officer, do adjudge, that he ſhall receive five hundred laſhes—and that Patrick M'Mullen, whom they likewiſe find guilty on the evidence adduced againſt him, ſhall receive one thouſand laſhes."

Extract from the Trials of Daniel Mahon and Thomas Carty, Privates of the Kildare Regiment of Militia, at Dublin, on the 30th Day of May 1797, on the following Charge:—viz.

1ſt. For exciting and joining in mutiny and ſedition.

2d. For adviſing and perſuading two men of the Duke of York's royal regiment of highlanders to deſert his Majeſty's ſervice.

James Maſon, the ſecond witneſs, depoſed—" I was walking with corporal Brunton, and the two priſoners met us, and aſked us if we would go and take a glaſs: the corporal at firſt refuſed it, ſaying that he had orders to take out. We, however, went into a houſe, and they called for a naggin of whiſkey, and aſked us if we were going to ſtand out for a ſhilling a day, as all ſoldiers were going to do it. We ſaid, we did not know, or hear any thing about it: then they began, and aſked us what we thought about the United Iriſhmen. We ſaid, we did not know what they meant by it; then they ſaid, that if we would join them, it would be better than to be ſoldiers, for that we ſhould have money and proviſions. They ſaid, they had gone out of the barracks without any money, and got plenty of it; and they ſaid, if any of our officers looked down upon us, and we would deſert, and come to that houſe, we would get clothes, and plenty of every thing, and never be taken; and they deſired the woman of the houſe to take a look at us, that ſhe might know us again; and if we called again, to be kind to us. They told us they had a deſign to cut off the Frazers, becauſe they knew that none of them would join them; but hoped there were a great many of ours that would join them. One of them (the witneſs pointing to Carty) ſaid, that captain Walker told him in the ranks, that he, Carty, was a United Iriſhman; and he ſaid, the anſwer he returned the captain was, that there were more of them than him; and he, Carty, ſaid, that the

Duke

Duke of Leinſter had given up his commiſſion, and that they need not be afraid, for that the head men of the kingdom were to take charge of them. One of them (I can't recollect which) went to an adjoining room, where there were country people, and a gentleman came back with him, and ſaid—As long as we would be in that mind, that they were in, that as long as he had threepence we ſhould have three halfpence of it.—They then began to ſpeak about religion, and ſaid, it did not ſignify what religion they were to be of; and that the firſt that was to caſt up to another what religion he was of was to be hung."

SENTENCE.

" The court, having taken into conſideration the evidence adduced on the trial of Daniel Mahon and Thomas Carty, privates in the Kildare regiment of militia, find both the priſoners guilty of the crimes alleged againſt them, in breach of the 3d article of the 2d ſection, of the 5th article of the 5th ſection of the articles of war; and the court having found the priſoners, Daniel Mahon and Thomas Carty, guilty of *exciting and joining in mutiny and ſedition*, in breach of the 2d article of the 3d ſection of the articles of war, do therefore adjudge them to ſuffer death."

Extract from the Trial of James Matthews and John Sheridan, of the Royal Dublin Regiment of Militia, at Blaris Camp, on the 5th Day of July 1797, on the following Charge—viz.

For exciting and joining in mutiny and ſedition.

Matthew Browne, of the Dublin regiment of militia, the firſt witneſs, depoſed—" On our arrival at Caſtle-town, we went into a garden, and were brought to a ſmall houſe; when we went in, we found ſeven or eight men, and we were deſired to ſit down. The houſe, as I heard, belonged to Meſſrs. Burn and Teeling. The people then addreſſed Matthews, as if he had been there before, and aſked him how he was; and ſaid, they had a very thin meeting there, this night, which they did not expect. We then talked of going away, and they ſent for a gentleman, who deponent underſtood to be a Mr. Teeling, and on his diſcourſing to us, he aſked the priſoner Matthews, how he was getting on in the company? He ſaid, 'Very well:'—'Damn you, Matthews,' ſays he, 'but you are a fine little fellow, and deſerve to be a captain.' The company then began to talk about the French fleet; and Mr. Teeling ſaid, if they would make their landing good, they would get enough to aſſiſt them, and he ſaid that they had plenty of money in the funds of their different committees, to buy ſuch inſtruments as were neceſſary; and he ſaid, by the laſt returns he got from Dublin, there were upwards of ninety thouſand United Iriſhmen: all this happened in the preſence

and hearing of the priſoner Matthews, and there were two other ſoldiers of the regiment preſent, who have ſince deſerted.

" The next meeting was after the return of the regiment from Monaghan to Dundalk, at O'Hare's, to which deponent was warned, with other men of the light company, by the priſoner Matthews: we aſſembled on a Sunday evening, to the beſt of deponent's recollection: there were many men of the Dublin regiment then preſent, amongſt whom were the priſoners, Matthews and Sheridan. They were appointed by the majority of the meeting, to forward the buſineſs of United Iriſhmen. There was a ſoldier of the regiment, of the name of Connor, who ſat that night as preſident; and he declared, that any man in the room that would diſcover againſt any of the company then preſent ſhould be aſſaſſinated. We then broke up, but not before a meeting was appointed for another day. A few nights after we met at O'Hare's; the priſoner Matthews was there, with other men of the regiment, but Sheridan, to the beſt of deponent's recollection, was not there; and on account of Matthews being acquainted with the buſineſs firſt, the men in the room thought proper to appoint him lieutenant, as he was ſo forward in the buſineſs, and alert in making United Iriſhmen: ſome of the men ſpoke of the priſoner Sheridan as a proper man to be captain. We finiſhed our buſineſs, and we adjourned.

" The priſoner Matthews had ſuch intercourſe with one Woods, an apothecary at Dundalk, and the priſoner often told the deponent, that he underſtood from the intelligence that was conveyed to him by Wood, that there were a number of people at Belfaſt ready to aſſiſt the French when they landed, and that diſturbances would begin ſooner than we imagined. One Stewart M'Coomb, of the Dublin regiment, was preſent at this communication from the priſoner, and I have heard the priſoner often declare in the preſence of M'Coomb, that if the French landed, he, the priſoner, Matthews, would join them."

SENTENCE.

" The court, having taken into conſideration the evidence adduced on the trial of James Matthews, of the royal Dublin regiment of militia, find him guilty of the crime alleged againſt him, in breach of the 3d article of the 2d ſection of the articles of war, and do therefore adjudge him to ſuffer death.

" The court do alſo find the priſoner, John Sheridan, of the royal Dublin regiment of militia, guilty of the crime alleged againſt him, in breach of the 3d article of the 2d ſection of the articles of war, and do therefore adjudge him to ſerve for life in any of his Majeſty's dominions beyond the ſeas, or in foreign parts."

Extract

N. B. Thomas Redmond found guilty, and ſentenced to receive fifteen hundred laſhes.

Bryan M'Govern found guilty, and ſentenced to receive five hundred laſhes.

Richard Tankerd found guilty, and ſentenced to ſerve abroad for life.

The priſoner Michael Caſtillo found guilty of the crime alleged againſt him, and ſentenced to receive one thouſand laſhes, and to ſerve abroad for life.

The priſoner corporal Drumgold found guilty of the crime alleged againſt him, and adjudged to ſuffer death.

N. B. The priſoner corporal Connor withdrawn from before the court; general Coote propoſing to try him by a court martial of the line.

Extract from the Trial of Corporal M'Auliff, William Larracy, and Terence O'Brien, of the Second Fencible Dragoons, held at Bandon, on the 20th Day of July 1797, on the following Charge, viz.

For beginning, exciting, cauſing, or joining in a mutiny or ſedition, in the regiment to which they belong, by having taken unlawful, mutinous, and ſeditious oaths, or being inſtrumental to their being taken; as alſo being preſent at a mutiny or ſedition, or intended mutiny or ſedition, and not without delay giving information thereof to their commanding officer.

Henry Curren, private in the ſecond fencible dragoons, depoſeth, "That about three months ago, priſoner, corporal M'Auliff, who was corporal of the guard on which evidence was a ſoldier, took him about two hours before the guard was relieved, up the Cork road, with John Purcell, another of the guard, when the corporal told evidence, he was ſorry he was ſo blind; and evidence replying he was very ſorry for it himſelf, the corporal made anſwer, that if he would do as they deſired, he would never want a friend, a ſhilling, or a drink, while a brother could give it to him. Priſoner, corporal M'Auliff, ſent Purcell for William Larracy; aſked them, What news? they anſwering, Good news; and Larracy ſaid to me, he always thought me a ſober, ſettled fellow, and that he was eaſy, as he believed I would become a brother. Evidence ſeeing Dennis Callaghan, the ſlater, coming down the road, he deſired them to ſtop the converſation; when evidence imagines, the priſoner M'Auliff ſaid that was the man they wanted, and on his coming up and bidding good morning, he aſked what news? and they anſwered, they believed good news; then Callaghan aſked, if evidence was a brother, or did he mean to become one? they anſwered, they believed he did, and Callaghan ſhook hands with him, ſaying, he was very glad to ſee me, and they all aſked me inſide the ditch, and Callaghan gave me a

book, and ſwore me to keep ſecret what I would hear or ſee; and afterwards Callaghan ſwore me to be true to my brethren. We all then went to Murphy's public houſe, and after getting ſome liquor, Callaghan read the articles, which were in writing, to be true to my brothers, and never ſee a brother want, while I ſhould have $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ and to join the French when they ſhould come, and ſwore me four times to them. At the bottom of the paper there were two hearts, and a tree, which appeared to evidence to be done with ſilk, and Callaghan ſaid he got them from a Mr. O'Connor, in the weſt, and that the tree denoted liberty, and they all ſhowed ſigns to evidence, with the hand of love and liberty, and the priſoners M'Auliff and Larracy often repeated them; and Callaghan taught him a catechiſm, by which he was to know a brother; both M'Auliff and Larracy told him about the 1ſt of July they meant to have a general riſe through the kingdom, to ſeize the cannon and camp, to murder the officers, and all who would not join them, and that if the French did not come, they thought they could march throughout the kingdom themſelves, as they would be joined by all that part of the army that were ſworn."

SENTENCE.

"The court find the priſoners corporal M'Auliff and William Larracy guilty of the crime alleged againſt them, and do therefore adjudge them to ſuffer death.

"The court do find the priſoner Terence O'Brien guilty of the crime alleged againſt him, and ſentence him to receive one thouſand laſhes, and to ſerve abroad for life."

Extract from the Trial of James Murphy, Patrick Halvey, Henry Hodgens, Valentine Cooke, Matthew Toole, Charles Kelly, and James Condron, Privates in the Dublin County Regiment of Militia, held at Cork, on the 15th of March 1798, on the following Charges, viz.

For beginning, exciting, cauſing, or joining in a mutiny and ſedition in the regiment to which they belong; and being preſent at a mutiny and ſedition, and not uſing their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs the ſame, and for coming to the knowledge of a mutiny, or intended mutiny, and not, without delay, giving information thereof to lieutenant-colonel Finlay, the commanding officer of the regiment.

James Greenham depoſeth, that "Some time after the priſoner Murphy aſked evidence to go to a meeting of friends that he could depend upon, evidence anſwered he would, and went accordingly to the houſe of Early, a publican, near South Gaol, where he met all the priſoners, James Murphy, Patrick Halvey, Henry

Extract from the Trials of Dominick Gilligan, Private of the Roſcommon, Patrick Allen, Private of the Galway, Thomas Redmond, Private of the Wexford, Richard Tankerd, Private of the Limerick County, Michael Caſtillo, Private of the Leitrim, Bryan M'Govern, Private of the Wexford, Corporal Drumgold, of the Weſtmeath, and Corporal Connor, of the Meath Regiments of Militia, held at Bandon, on the 10th Day of July 1797, on the following Charge—viz.

For beginning, exciting, cauſing, or joining in a mutiny or ſedition in the corps to which they belong, by having taken unlawful, mutinous, or ſeditious oaths, or being inſtrumental to their being taken, as alſo for being preſent at a mutiny or ſedition, or intended mutiny or ſedition, and not uſing their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs the ſame, or coming to the knowledge of a mutiny or intended mutiny, and not without delay giving information thereof to their commanding officer.

John Daly depoſeth, "that Halloway told him that Terence O'Brien was doing duty at Inniſhannon, and Dominick Gilligan at the camp ground, and without their ſigning them he could not get them; and when evidence did get them they would ſtand him in 6s. 6d. as every man who got the articles paid 6s. 6d. to the committee-man, which was kept for the ſubſiſtence of the wives and children of men ſhot and tranſported for the ſame; but told evidence he would get them for him for half-a-crown next day, as he had been at the expenſe of liquor for him. On evidence walking out with Halloway, they met M'Donald of the ſame company, an additional gunner, to whom he was introduced as a *friend* by Halloway, when evidence aſked them back to the ſame houſe to drink, and M'Donald told him we had put a coal of fire to the waggon ſtores, which was found and put out by a dragoon who had ſtables near it, and that they were waiting for a letter from Fermoy camp, and when they received that they would place the cannon on the 30th regiment's barracks, to keep them in, as they could not depend on them. The evening previous to the execution of the men of the Wexford regiment, evidence went again and demanded the articles of Halloway, who told him he was very ſorry for keeping them ſo long from them, as he believed it was a means of keeping many men of the ſame company with evidence ignorant of the *cauſe*; and deſired evidence, if the general gave them a halt at Inniſhannon the next day attending the execution, to go to the head inn, where he would ſee him and Ter. O'Brien of the 2d fencibles, and would get the articles ſigned; and after that there was no danger, but he would get them ſigned in camp by Dominick Gilligan of the Roſcommon."

Patrick Dougan, of the Galway light infantry, depoſeth, that, "We all three went up ſtairs together, and Gilligan aſked him if he had a mind to know more of the ſecret, when he took out a paper and began to read, and ſwore him to be true to the French republic, and take the life of any man that would attempt to diſcover: he then aſked him for a ſhilling, and ſaid he got one from every man he ſwore; and on his ſaying he had not one, a pedlar that was preſent took out two ſhillings, which he gave to priſoner for Martin Burke and evidence."

SENTENCE.

"The court, having taken into conſideration the proſecution, and priſoner's defence, are of opinion, the priſoner, Dominick Gilligan, is guilty of the crime alledged againſt him in breach of the 3d and 4th articles of the 2d ſection of the articles of war, and do therefore adjudge him to ſuffer death."

John Hargrove, on the trial of Patrick Allen, depoſeth,—"That about a month ago he was walking by the river, near the camp; Patrick Allen and other men were there, and Halloway of the Meath, Tankerd of the Limerick county, M'Govern and Clancy of the Wexford, Kelſh and Maguire of the royal Meath, one of the Waterford, and another he does not know. About three or four weeks back, there was another ſquad, ſome of the Sligo, a man of the Limerick—about eight or ten.—The priſoner was ſitting with the firſt party, and called to evidence: after our talking ſome time, Allen ſaid to Halloway, 'I think we may inform Hargrove with our deſign, which I think he will keep ſecret.' Halloway anſwered, he might. Allen then ſaid, they intended writing to the north and other parts of the kingdom, to inform them they would go on with their intention the firſt of July, and then to have the kingdom on fire in both ends and in the middle; and then, with what friends Mr. O'Brien, near Bandon, could ſend them, and what friends they had in camp, about four hundred, that they intended firſt taking the cannon, and then taking the bell-tents, with the ſmall arms, which they would give to the country-people that would be ſent by Mr. O'Brien, and then go put general Coote to death, and as many officers as they could, and then retreat to Bantry, and take poſſeſſion of the battery, and keep it if poſſible, till the French would land. This is all evidence knows of the priſoner Allen."

SENTENCE.

"The court do alſo find Patrick Allen guilty of the crime alleged againſt him, and do therefore adjudge him to receive one thouſand laſhes."

N. B.

ſaw the priſoners John Bray and Bryan Martin, and about three or four more ſoldiers, but none of the preſoners but thoſe mentioned, and one Teady Driſcol; when they came to agreement to ſend a man on paſs next day to Cloghnakilty, to bring the ſoldiers there to the ſame mind that they were, which was to put their officers and the Orange men to death at Cloghnakilty and Skibbereen, if they did did not come to dine at the Leap, as was fixed. The men at each quarter were to put it in execution, and then take poſſeſſion of the guns and arms, and join each other, and march to Caſtle Townſend, Skibbereen, and Bantry, and then to the Kerry mountains. John Bray was to command the Skibbereen people, and the priſoner James Gunning was the perſon who went on paſs to Cloghnakilty, as agreed upon; and when evidence met him after his return, he told him they were all ready at a moment's warning, meaning the men of the Weſtmeath regiment, who were quartered there. And three days after, evidence was at another meeting at Skibbereen, at Jerry or Michael Sullivan's; where the priſoner William Conlan and one or two more ſoldiers were; and Conlan told evidence they had been agreeing juſt on the former plan, and often was told by different men of the regiment, on meeting them, to ſame effect, particularly from Brian Martin, William Mahady, William Conlan, Thomas Ready, Michael Gunley, James Gunning, and John Bray, with Patrick M'Loughlin; but never heard priſoners Welchan, Matthew Martin, or Felix Fitzgerald ſay any thing about it. Evidence never ſaw Fitzgerald before he ſaw ball cartridges with Teady Driſcol, but does not know who gave them to him. Theſe meetings continued till laſt Sunday fortnight, when Thomas Ready came to evidence, and deſired him to get pen, ink, and paper to write a letter to him, and get a horſe and man to ſend it by, to Cloghnakilty, to have the ſoldiers there ready to turn out on that night; when evidence told him he would not do it, and the priſoner Ready went away. Evidence ſaw Ready afterwards, when he told him no perſon could walk through the town without the paſs-word, which was, '*All is well, and five pounds for a Croppy's head.*' This paſs-word, evidence ſays, was among the ſoldiers, and thoſe of their party. Major Nugent, who commanded at Skibbereen, having made a figure, which was called a Croppy, and uſed as a target for the troops to fire at, they had fixed to make the major bring this figure on his back to the Leap, where they were to march, after putting their officers to death, and then put major Nugent to death, and the yeomanry, if they oppoſed them. Evidence heard the priſoner Bray in particular ſay ſo."

Timothy Driſcol, inhabitant of Skibbereen, depoſeth, that "The ſignal was the burning of a houſe, when we were to aſſemble, and remain on the mountains near the town till morning.

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The ſoldiers were to have eight hours for plundering the money, &c. of the town, and if they could not get at their arms, the country people were to fire a ſhot, to alarm the town; and when they got their arms, the country people were to take all the goods and proviſions in the town, towards furniſhing a camp which was to be formed, and were to have gone to Bantry, and if purſued, to the Kerry mountains. Evidence believes there would have been two thouſand men collected in the country to join them: it was divided into four diviſions or quarters, one of which evidence was to command, and had others under him; but on finding they meant to take the lives of the yeomanry, having a brother an officer in it, evidence lodged information of all he knew, before a magiſtrate."

SENTENCE.

"The court having conſidered the proſecution, and what the priſoners had to offer in their defence, the court are of opinion, the priſoners, William Conlan, Thomas Ready, Michael Gunley, and John Bray, are guilty of the crimes alleged againſt them (of mutiny and ſedition), and do therefore ſentence them to ſuffer death.

"The court do alſo find the priſoners, Thomas Welchan, Bryan Martin, William Mahady, and James Gunning, guilty of ſame crime, and do therefore ſentence them to ſerve for life, in ſome of his Majeſty's plantations beyond the ſeas.

"The court do find the priſoner Patrick M'Loughlin guilty of the ſame crime, and do therefore ſentence him to receive 500 laſhes, in the uſual manner; and the court do acquit the priſoners Matthew Martin and Felix Fitzgerald; and the court do acquit all the priſoners of the latter part of the charge."

No. XXX.

Handbills diſtributed on ſeveral Occaſions among the Soldiers.

SOLDIERS,

WHETHER Engliſh, Scotch, or Iriſh, at this awful and alarming period, when the legiſlature of the country ſeem determined on precipitating it from one danger to another, let me entreat you not to forget you are ſtill men: ſeduction made you ſoldiers, but nature made you men. Let her call awaken every noble and generous ſentiment in your breaſts, never to turn your arms againſt your fellow-men, whoſe crimes are hatred to tyranny and oppreſſion, and a love of liberty. For

Henry Hodgens, Valentine Cooke, Matthew Toole, Charles Kelly, and James Condron, and two men more of the regiment, who have ſince deſerted, and one Gorman, and another man of the regiment that was diſcharged a few days before. When evidence was with them about half an hour, an inhabitant, who was called Murphy, and ſaid he was a delegate from United Iriſhmen; when they converſed together about ſeizing the arms of the Dublin county regiment, and inquiring how many United Iriſhmen belonged to the regiment, the priſoner Murphy anſwered, About 300 ſuſpected friends. Murphy, the delegate, ſaid, if there were but 30 friends in the barracks, by having them diſperſed up and down in the rooms, when the attack was to be made, to give the arms to the town's-people.

On being aſked whether the delegate Murphy ſpoke of Hardgrove, a ſoldier of the regiment, he anſwered, that "Some time after the meeting I met the priſoner Murphy on South bridge, when he told me he would ſhoot Hardgrove for being ſuch an enemy to the United Iriſhmen, ſaying, he would complete it by getting twine, and ſlinging it to a piſtol under his coat, and went back at that time to get it, as he ſaid; but afterwards at the meeting it was debated, whether Hardgrove ſhould not be put to death, when it was determined he ſhould not; as, if he was put to death, it would be the cauſe of the town being proclaimed, and they could do no good at all then. The delegate ſaid, nine-tenths of the people of Cork were ſworn."

On being aſked whether he ever heard why Murphy, the priſoner, ſuſpected Hardgrove for being unfriendly to the cauſe of United Iriſhmen; he anſwered, "Yes, I did, on account of his behaving ſo treacherous to them."

On being queſtioned whether he ever was at the houſe of one Donnelly at Glaſſnevin, who were in company, and what paſſed in converſation there; he anſwered, "I was in company with the priſoners Murphy and Halvey; John Kean, a ſoldier, that deſerted; and Donnelly, the man of the houſe. Priſoner Murphy inquired which of the officers of the Dublin county regiment deſerved death, and mentioned captain Brabazon and lieutenant Coleman, and ſome others I do not recollect. The diſcourſe was ſtopped by Kean, who ſaid it was not right to be ſpoken of in common; and Donnelly mentioned a plot that was formed of blowing up the magazine."

Michael Gorman depoſeth, that "After evidence was ſworn, Murphy the delegate gave the word and ſign, which was, coming in with the left hand covering the right, and ſaying, Study, to anſwer I am determined; which was for that month; and farther ſaid, he hoped it would be the laſt, as the general riſing was to be ſoon, and that if there were to be thirty men diſperſed in the barracks, to give the arms to the town's-people outſide, it would

be

be ſufficient; and that when the riſing took place, they would take general Myers priſoner, and ſeize the Shannon and Blackpool guards."

On being queſtioned whether any perſon at the meeting he mentioned, ſeemed to take a lead, or to be particularly attended to, beſide the delegate Murphy; he anſwered, "Yes, Murphy the priſoner."

On being aſked whether Murphy the priſoner made any offer of his ſervices when the riſing was to take place, and to ſeize the arms; he anſwered, "Yes, he ſaid he would head them himſelf."

Patrick Flanagan depoſeth, that "the priſoner Murphy then wanted evidence to ſwear on ſome papers to turn out at a moment's warning, and join the French when they landed, and wanted him to kiſs the papers, but evidence refuſed, and turning about, laid them down by him."

SENTENCES.

"The court having taken into their conſideration the evidence laid before them, find the priſoners, James Murphy, Patrick Halvey, Henry Hodgens, Valentine Cooke, Matthew Toole, Charles Kelly, and James Condron, privates in the Dublin county regiment of militia, guilty, being in breach of the third and fourth articles of the ſecond ſection of the articles of war; and we do thereby adjudge the priſoners James Murphy and Patrick Halvey to ſuffer death; and the priſoners Valentine Cooke and James Condron to receive one thouſand laſhes each; and the priſoners Henry Hodgens and Matthew Toole to receive eight hundred laſhes each; and the priſoner Charles Kelly to receive five hundred laſhes, in the uſual manner.

"But it having appeared to the court that the priſoner Charles Kelly was in a ſtate of the greateſt intoxication, in which he continued during their ſitting; and that he may have been taken to that meeting for the purpoſe of ſwearing, it not having appeared that he was ſworn before, and that he was objected to by the delegate Murphy—the court do therefore recommend him as a proper object for mercy."

Extract from the Trial of Thomas Welchan, Brian Martin, William Mahady, William Conlan, Thomas Ready, Michael Gunley, Matthew Martin, James Gunning, John Bray, Patrick M'Loughlin, and Felix Fitzgerald, Privates of the Weſtmeath Regiment of Militia, held at Cork, the 11th Day of July 1798.—Confined by Order of Lieutenant-general Sir James Stewart, for Mutiny and Sedition, and for diſpoſing of his Majeſty's Ammunition.

Cornelius Sullivan, inhabitant of Skibbereen, depoſed, "That evidence went to the houſe of John Sullivan, publican, where he ſaw

this are we ſtyled traitors and rebels;—but by whom?—By thoſe who are themſelves the worſt of traitors; thoſe who have betrayed the people; who have rebelled againſt the rights of man, and exerciſe their deſpotiſm upon us becauſe we eſpouſe their cauſe: your cauſe, 'tis a common one, and Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh, are alike intereſted in it. Our tyrants talk of treaſon, forgetting there can be none except againſt the rights and intereſts of the people. The people could *flouriſh* and would flouriſh without them; but what are they without the people? IT IS THE PEOPLE PAYS BOTH THEM AND YOU. Let the Engliſh ſoldier conſider the ſeverity, the burdens enormous under which his country (which probably contains all his deareſt connexions) groans, for the redreſs of which Britons are *now* united. Let the Scotch ſoldier weigh the ſame conſiderations (and recollect the recent maſſacres at Tranent,) and for the redreſs of which Scotchmen are now united, and then, if they can, let them condemn *us* for ſtruggling for liberty, of which we ſincerely wiſh them to participate; and if they cannot, never let them turn their arms againſt us. The Iriſh ſoldier cannot forget that he is an

IRISHMAN.

31*ſt March* 1798.

TO THE SOLDIERS OF IRELAND.

Fellow Citizens and Fellow Soldiers,

PERMIT a countryman to addreſs you in a few words upon a few plain facts, and if any of you feel with me the poſitions I ſhall lay down, I entreat you by all that can be dear to man forward its influence amongſt your brethren in arms; but in doing ſo let the cautious conduct you purſue lull ſuſpicion to reſt in thoſe tyrants who now, under the colour of commanding, dare enſlave ſuch brave men, as I truſt none of you will fail proving himſelf when the day ſhall arrive.

Firſt—Let me aſk you, is there one amongſt you (particularly thoſe who have been reared in the country) whoſe deareſt relations and moſt intimate friends do not reſide in your reſpective counties? I anſwer, None;—and you muſt feel if they are expoſed to danger.

Secondly—Which of you that has not formed in his mind a hope of one day (when the period of military ſervice has expired) reviſiting his dear friends, and ſpending an honoured age in the boſom of his parents in peace and tranquillity, reanimated by the ſcenes his boyiſh days played truant in, looking with fond remembrance on the village that gave him birth, and cheering a lonely winter in the companionable ſociety of perhaps a lov-

ing wife and riſing offspring?—You all expect to do ſo; not a man of you but muſt have formed the moſt ſanguine hopes of doing ſo.

But, my countrymen, what muſt your feelings be, how check your indignant manly rage, when every day adds peril to their exiſtence; when each day gives a melancholy, ſad account (which, I do not heſitate to ſay, is concealed from you) of their being murdered by thoſe Orange men in power—hunted by thoſe paid to defend them in your abſence, and, with ſhame, I muſt add, by ſome of our own countrymen, debaſed and degenerated by becoming dupes to the murderous Orange faction now lording it through the land! Iriſh blood freezes at the ſcenes of perſecution carried on againſt our countrymen, againſt your families and friends; not an Iriſh heart but beats with redoubled ardour to face ſuch blood-hounds, and not an Iriſh hand but would wield a ſabre to have revenge!

My countrymen, what can you ſay, when you hear of ſcenes of blood acting on the ſpot where your native hamlets once ſtood, but now no more? Their owners (your friends) either ſent to ſeek repoſe in the grave by the hands of theſe villanous Orange murderers, or immured in the damp and dreary dungeons of the baſtiles of this country, pining in chill deſpondency, waiting for a trial, ſeldom obtained, and, when obtained, acquitted, after years of dreary, ſolitary confinement! Some hurried on board priſon-ſhips, ſome actually tranſported to the ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, others ſent to ſerve in the Weſt Indies, certain victims to the climate; or left to rot, chained in the hold of a filthy coaſting veſſel! Your wives deſpoiled, to gratify the inſatiable luſt of theſe raviſhers! and theſe ſcenes, my countrymen, ſuffered to go unpuniſhed by thoſe in power, whom you protect; to whoſe frowns your array adds terror; to whom you give your ſupport, for unleſs you pleaſe they vaniſh; without your protection theſe deſpots fall; theſe deſolators, that each day refine on ſuch bloody deeds, would periſh, and your country be free. My brave countrymen, do not let the world call us daſtards—no, let us ſhow the world we are men, and above all, that we are Iriſhmen. Let every man among you feel the injuries your country, yourſelves have ſuffered; the inſults you have received; the ſtripes that have been dealt with an unmerciful hand on thoſe brave comrades who dared think and feel for their country. If you do, the glorious work will be complete, and in the union of the citizen and his brave fellow-ſoldier, the world (hitherto thought to look down upon us with contempt) will ſee that we can emancipate our country; we will convince ſurrounding nations that Iriſh ſoldiers have avowed and adopted a maxim they will maintain, or periſh,—namely, *that every man*

ſhould

ſhould be a ſoldier in defence of his liberty, but *none* to take away the *liberty* of others.

SHAMROC.

Weſtmeath, 27*th March* 1798.

DUBLIN GARRISON.

THE great difficulties which the ſoldiers have laboured under from the lowneſs of their pay, has long been known and acknowledged, and has been borne by them with an unexampled degree of patience. The ſubſiſtence money of the ſoldiers, at preſent, is no more than three ſhillings and ſixpence per week; a ſum inſufficient to maintain, in any degree of comfort, a ſingle man, and totally inadequate to maintain a man who has a wife and family, which many of us have; if the pay is compared with that of a labourer or a porter in this city, the difference is immenſe.—The pay of the ſailors is now fixed at one ſhilling Britiſh per day; excluſive of which, they have a profuſe allowance of meat, of beer, and of ſpirit, which keeps them comfortable, and enables them to ſave ſufficiently for the maintenance of their wives and families. We, the ſoldiers of the garriſon of Dublin, who have long cheerfully ſubmitted to a very ſevere garriſon duty, and who will not even for a moment allow that we are inferior to any body of men in loyalty to our king and country, have unanimouſly agreed, humbly to repreſent to government the inſufficiency of our preſent pay, and that we are convinced, that one ſhilling per day, ſubſiſtence-money, would be a moderate allowance for the infantry, with a proportionate advance to the cavalry and artillery, to be paid in money, and not in paper: and in order to have thoſe moderate and juſt claims brought to a concluſion, we have determined to remain in our preſent quarters until they are ſettled to our ſatisfaction; and we recommend, in the moſt earneſt manner, to every regiment throughout the kingdom, to aſſiſt us in obtaining this juſt and reaſonable demand.

Dublin, *April* 29, 1797.

The following Handbill was diſtributed in Cork in March laſt, exciting the Soldiers to mutiny.

To MILITIA MEN.

TWO of your body are to be murdered, and you will be called on to be the murderers; you will be told that you have ſworn to obey your officers, and that you are in danger of being puniſhed if you refuſe to be executioners. But I tell you, you are bound to reſiſt ſuch a command, and that the people, who have affixed a

watchful eye on all your proceedings, will never excuſe you from ſuch an act. From the moment the trigger is drawn by which they are to be butchered you ceaſe to have the confidence of the *men of Erin*. Refuſe to fire; refuſe to be the executioners of your tyrants' damnable orders. Who dares to call you to account? The whole people will defend and ſhield you; they will feed, and lodge, and clothe you; they will warm you in their boſoms; as you behave now, your country will conſider you for ever. Oh, militia men! you will all be ſhot one by one, if you don't at once put a ſtop to ſlaughter.

Did you not hear how the brave men of the Carlow militia, at Blaris camp, refuſed to ſhoot two of their comrades? Another regiment was called on for the purpoſe—they refuſed to be murderers: a Scotch regiment was ſingled out—even they refuſed, yet not one of them was puniſhed. Who dare to puniſh you if you are true to each other?—Now is the time to prove yourſelves.

DEATH BEFORE DISHONOUR:

Or the Four Iriſh Soldiers.

A TRUE STORY.

THESE brave men, William M'Kenna, Owen M'Kenna, Peter M'Carren, and Daniel M'Gillain, ſoldiers in the Monaghan militia, were ſentenced to be ſhot by a court martial for being United Iriſhmen. They were repeatedly offered their pardon and rewards on condition of informing againſt their aſſociates. They choſe death before diſhonour, and met their fate like men. They were carried upon cars, attended by their clergy, and accompanied by large detachments of various regiments, from Belfaſt to Blaris camp, on Tueſday, the 16th of May 1797. —The father of Owen M'Kenna was deſired to interfere in order to ſave his ſon's life, and to encourage him to inform. His anſwer was, that his ſon ſhould never ſave his life by informing, as in that caſe, if thoſe who wiſhed his ſon to turn traitor ſhould forbear to ſhoot him, he himſelf would do it. Upon this the ſon and his three comrades had their brains blown out in the preſence of the brave old man.

The United Iriſhmen have made a handſome proviſion for the families of theſe honourable men, as the only token of eſteem and gratitude now in their power to beſtow.

No. XXXI.

Examinations of Dr. M'Nevin, Arthur O'Connor, Esq. Samuel Neilson, and Thomas Addis Emmet.

SECRET COMMITTEE of the HOUSE of LORDS.

Tuesday, 7th August 1798.

Dr. William James M'Nevin sworn.

Q. WHEN did you become an United Irishman?

A. About September or October 1796, I became a member of the close society of United Irishmen. It consisted of societies at first composed of thirty-six members; afterwards these societies were reduced to twelve members; each society of twelve chose a secretary, and generally a treasurer.

Q. What was the next higher society?

A. The secretaries of five societies formed a lower baronial committee; out of each of the lower baronial committees one person was chosen to be a member of the upper baronial; each of the upper baronials consisted of ten members thus chosen. The next superior committees were in populous towns, district committees; and in counties, county committees; these were composed of one member elected from each baronial. The next superior committees were the provincial committees, composed of two members, sometimes three, elected from each county committee.

Q. How was the executive chosen?

A. Each provincial committee elected five persons by ballot; the secretary examined the ballots, and reported to the persons elected their appointment, but made no report of the election to the provincial, who were thus kept in ignorance of the persons who composed the executive. The executive had the command of the whole body thus organized.

Q. How were the orders of the executive communicated?

A. One member of the executive communicated with one member of the provincial committee, he with the secretary of the county committee, he in like manner with the secretaries of the baronials, and these secretaries with those of the subordinate societies.

Q. Was there any omission made in the last test?

A. In the last test the words were "a full representation of all the people," omitting the words "in the Commons House of Parliament."

Q. Why was the omission made?

A. To reconcile reformers and republicans, and because they had

had given up all idea of reform, and were determined on republicaniſm.

Q. What was the organization originally?

A. At firſt it was purely a civil organization; but I believe it was military in Ulſter about the latter end of 1796.

Q. What was the nature of the military organization!

A. The ſecretary of the ſociety of twelve was the petty officer, that is, ſerjeant or corporal; the delegate of five ſocieties to a lower baronial was uſually the captain, and thus had ſixty men under his command; and the delegate of ten lower baronials to the upper or diſtrict committee was uſually the colonel: thus a battalion was compoſed of 600 men.

Q. In what manner were the higher officers or ſtaff appointed?

A. The colonels of each county ſent in the names of three perſons to the executive, one of whom was appointed by the executive, adjutant-general of the county; his duty was to receive and communicate all military orders from the executive.

Q. Was any attempt made to procure Iriſh officers who had ſerved in foreign armies?

A. Such a plan was formed, but not proceeded on.

Q. Did they endeavour to prevail on French officers in England or Ireland to join them?

A. They did not.

Q. Were any attempts made to ſeduce the army and militia?

A. There were many.

Q. How were the finances of the ſociety recruited?

A. Every member of the ſociety paid a monthly ſubſcription; this fund was applied to the ſupport of the priſoners in gaol, to defend them on their trials, and to extend the union.

Q. How were the arms and ammunition to be procured?

A. The general direction was, for each perſon to arm himſelf, ſuch as could afford it with fire-arms and ammunition, others with pikes.

Q. What was the object of the ſyſtem?

A. To effect a revolution, and eſtabliſh a republic.

Q. How were emiſſaries appointed to extend the ſyſtem?

A. They were ſelected by ſome confidential perſon in the different diſtricts.

Q. How were the expenſes of the emiſſaries borne?

A. Out of the general fund.

Q. Were the reports of the ſecret committees of the two Houſes of Parliament laſt year accurate?

A. I believe they were accurate, ſave that they underſtated the number of men and arms.

Q. Do you know of any depots of arms or ammunition?

A. I do not—each man concealed his own arms, and I believe there were many engaged in the ſyſtem who were not armed.

Q. For

Q. For what purpoſe were arms provided?

A. For the purpoſe of inſurrection, and I think even after diſarming the north, the people were much inclined to riſe, but were prevented by a repreſentation from the executive, that it would be abſurd to riſe when their enemies were prepared, and that they might ſoon expect foreign aſſiſtance. I believe they retained more arms than were taken from them.

Q. When did the military organization begin in Leinſter?

A. In the beginning or middle of 1797.

Q. Was this organization made with the knowledge and approbation of the national executive, for the purpoſe of revolution?

A. It was.

Q. When was the ſyſtem introduced into Munſter?

A. About twelve or eighteen months ſince; but it did not extend rapidly—it went on quietly.

Q. Was there any connexion between the union and the Scotch and Engliſh ſocieties?

A. There might have been ſome ſlight connexion between the north and thoſe ſocieties, but there was no cloſe connexion between them and the Union.

Q. How was the military committee appointed, and when?

A. It was appointed by the executive about February 1798.

Q. What was the duty of this committee?

A. To conſider and digeſt ſuch plans, and direct the national military force in ſuch manner, as might be neceſſary in caſe of inſurrection; and in caſe of invaſion to co-operate with the French.

Q. Was any plan of inſurrection formed, and when?

A. In April or May 1797, a plan of inſurrection for the north was formed, and heads drawn up in writing; but it was ſoon given up, and the writing deſtroyed.

Q. Were any directions given by the directory to the members to abſtain from the conſumption of ſpirits and other exciſeable goods?

A. There were; and it was recommended to ſtop the currency of bank notes, and not to purchaſe quit-rents. A hand-bill to this purpoſe was circulated by order of the executive, ſtating that it was an anticipation of the public reſources, which, at the revolution, would not be allowed to ſtand good.

Q. Have there been any communications between the National Directory of Ireland and Executive Directory of France?

A. There have. Previous to 1796 ſome perſons had gone from hence to France. In 1796 a letter came from one of them, ſtating that the ſituation of this country had been repreſented to the Directory, who had promiſed to invade Ireland, for the purpoſe of ſeparating it from Great Britain. This letter was taken into ſerious conſideration by the executive early in 1796,

and

and an anſwer ſent in April that year, accepting the propoſal, on condition that they ſhould come as allies to act under the direction of the new government, as Rochambeau did in America; that they ſhould be paid the expenſes of the expedition, and their troops receive Iriſh pay while they acted here. This anſwer was ſent to Paris by a ſpecial meſſenger, and the French Directory promiſed that the ſuccours ſhould be ſent.

About October or November 1796, a meſſenger came from France, with intelligence that the ſuccours might be ſpeedily expected, and deſiring to know the ſtate of preparation of the country. The force to be ſent by France was ſtated to be fifteen thouſand men, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition; and he thinks if they had landed when they came to Bantry, an inſurrection would have taken place in the north. After the French expedition at Bantry had failed, there was no communication with the Directory till April 1797. Then an accredited miniſter was ſent by the Iriſh Directory to the Directory of France, by way of Hamburgh. He may have heard that the Iriſh miniſter had a conference with general Hoche at Franckfort, and that the French miniſter at Hamburgh had given him a letter of introduction to Hoche. The Iriſh miniſter was well received at Paris by the Directory, and continued the accredited Iriſh miniſter there till February laſt; ſince that time he has not heard of him, having been arreſted in March, and continued in confinement ſince. He believes a confidential meeting took place ſoon after April 1797, between a perſon who went from hence, and a perſon in London, with reſpect to the diſpoſitions of the French government. The next communication of conſequence was in June 1797, when an accredited perſon went from hence to communicate with the French Directory, by their deſire. He went by Hamburgh, where he ſaw the French miniſter, who made ſome difficulty about granting a paſſport, and demanded a memorial, which was written by the accredited perſon, and given to the French miniſter, under the impreſſion that the paſſport would not be granted.

The memoire was written in Engliſh, and contained the objects of his miſſion according to the inſtructions which he had received from the executive. It began by ſtating, that the appearance of the French in Bantry Bay had encouraged the leaſt confident of the Iriſh, in the hope of throwing off the yoke of England with the aſſiſtance of France. That the event of that expedition had proved the facility of invading Ireland: that in the event of a ſecond expedition, if the object was to take Cork, Oyſter-haven would be the beſt place of debarkation; that the perſon who had been before accredited was inſtructed to point out Oyſter-haven as the beſt place of debarkation; and it ſtated the precautions which had been taken by

throwing up works at Bantry, Fermoy, and Mallow. It further ſtated, that the ſyſtem of United Iriſhmen had made a rapid progreſs in the county of Cork, and that Bandon was become a ſecond Belfaſt: that the ſyſtem had made great progreſs in other counties, and that the people were now well inclined to aſſiſt the French: that 150,000 United Iriſhmen were organized and enrolled in Ulſter, a great part of them regimented, and one-third ready to march out of the province. It detailed the number of the King's forces in Ulſter, and their ſtations; recommended Lough Swilly as a place of debarkation in the north; and ſtated, that the people in the peninſula of Donegal would join the French. It ſtated, alſo, the ſtrength of the garriſon of Londonderry, and that one regiment which made a part of it was ſuppoſed to be diſaffected. It mentioned Killybegs alſo as a good place of debarkation; and ſtated, that the counties of Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Monaghan, were amongſt the beſt affected to the cauſe. In caſe of a landing at Killybegs, it recommended a diverſion in Sligo; and ſtated, that a force of 10,000 United Iriſhmen might be collected, to fall upon Enniſkillen, which commanded the paſs of Lough Erne: that it was eaſy to enter the bay of Galway, but very difficult to get out of it: that the counties of Louth, Armagh, Weſtmeath, Kildare, King's county, and city of Dublin, were the beſt organized: that the catholic prieſts had ceaſed to be alarmed at the calumnies which had been propagated of French irreligion, and were all affected to the cauſe: that ſome of them had rendered great ſervice in propagating, with diſcreet zeal, the ſyſtem of the Union. It declared, that the people of Ireland had a lively ſenſe of gratitude to France for the part which ſhe took, and alſo to Spain for the intereſt ſhe took in the affairs of Ireland. It engaged, on the part of the National Directory, to reimburſe the expenſes of France in the expedition which had failed, and of another to be undertaken. The number of troops demanded was a force not exceeding 10,000, nor leſs than 5000 men. It ſtated, that a brigade of Engliſh artillery had been already ſent over, and that a large body of troops would probably be ſent if Ireland was attacked. A conſiderable quantity of artillery and ammunition, with a large ſtaff and a body of engineers, and as many Iriſh officers as poſſible, whoſe fidelity they were aſſured of, were demanded, as neceſſary to accompany the expedition: a recommendation was given to ſeparate the Iriſh ſeamen who were priſoners of war from the Britiſh, ſuppoſing they would be ready to join in an expedition to liberate their country. It further recommended a proclamation to be publiſhed by the French general on his arrival here, that the French came as allies to deliver the country, not to conquer it: it alſo recommended to the Directory to make the independence

of Ireland an indiſpenſable condition of the treaty of peace then depending; and ſtated, that a proceeding ſo authentic could not be diſguiſed or miſrepreſented, and would very much encourage the people of Ireland. It contained alſo an aſſurance that the Iriſh militia would join the French if they landed in conſiderable force.

Immediately after this memoire was given in to the French miniſter, a paſſport was granted to the writer to go to Paris, where he had ſeveral conferences with people in authority, ſome of them members of the Directory: the object of theſe conferences was to obtain the ſame aſſurances of ſuccours from them that their agents had before given. The negotiation for peace was then going on at Liſle. He was told by perſons in authority, that they did not think the Engliſh cabinet ſincere; but that if France could get the terms ſhe had a right to expect, the Directory would make peace.

A ſecond memoire was preſented at Paris by the ſame perſon, ſoon after his arrival there: its object was to impreſs on the Directory the neceſſity of expediting the armament for Ireland, by every argument which the writer could uſe.

After the breaking off the negotiation and Lord Malmſbury's return to England, aſſurances were given that the French government would ſend a new expedition to Ireland, and that they would never abandon Ireland till ſhe was ſeparated from Great Britain; and theſe aſſurances have been ſince renewed.

Q. Was any information ſent to the Iriſh Executive of the Dutch armament in the Texel?

A. There was in July or Auguſt, and that it was deſtined for Ireland.

Q. Were there any accounts received from France ſince thoſe you have mentioned?

A. There were three ſeveral accounts between October 1797 and February 1798; the two firſt contained renewals of their former aſſurances, the laſt a promiſe of the arrival of the armament here in April.

Q. Was any diſpatch ſent from Ireland to France during the laſt winter?

A. There was a diſpatch made up ſome time in the laſt winter by the Iriſh Executive, and given to one member of it, who undertook to have it conveyed to France. The general import of this diſpatch was to preſs for the promiſed ſuccours.

Q. Were you a member of the Executive?

A. I was.

Q. Do you ſpeak with certainty of the miſſion to France in June 1797, and of what paſſed at Paris in conſequence of it and of the two memoires?

A. I do.

Q. Have

Q. Have you read thoſe memoires?
A. I have.
Q. Do you know they were both delivered?
A. I do.
Q. How were the expenſes of the accredited Iriſh miniſter at Paris to be borne?

A. He took a good deal of money with him, either his own, or raiſed by a particular ſubſcription; and it was intended to remit ſupplies to him when that was expended.

Q. Have you ſeen a reſolution of the Leinſter Provincial of the 19th February 1798, "That they would not be diverted from their purpoſe by any thing which could be done in parliament, as nothing ſhort of the total emancipation of the country would ſatisfy them?"

A. I have.

Q. Was it officially communicated by the Provincial to the Executive?

A. It was.

Q. Did you know that a provincial meeting was to be held on Monday the 12th of March?

A. I did.

Q. What was the reform originally required by United Iriſhmen?

A. A democratic Houſe of Commons; they thought one ariſtocratic body in the ſtate ſufficient.

Q. Was any eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment intended by the new government?

A. No; I conceive that a revolution would of courſe involve the demolition of the church eſtabliſhment, and of courſe a relief of the poor from tithes.

Q. Do you know of any loan being negotiated with France or Spain?

A. Yes; the agent who was ſent over in April 1797, was inſtructed to negotiate a loan of half a million or 30,000l. if it could be got from France or Spain.

Q. Have you any doubt of the ſincerity of France?

A. I have not; I believe inability alone has prevented France from invading Ireland.

Q. Do you think the maſs of the people in the provinces of Leinſter, Munſter, and Connaught, care the value of this pen, or the drop of ink which it contains, for parliamentary reform or catholic emancipation?

A. I am ſure they do not, but they wiſh much to be relieved from the payment of tithes.

Thurſday, 9th Auguſt 1798.

Arthur O'Connor, Eſq. ſworn.

Q. When did you become an United Iriſhman?

A. About November 1796.

Q. When did the military organization begin?

A. About the middle of 1796.

Q. Were you a member of the National Executive?

A. I was, and continued ſo from November 1796 to January 1798.

Q. When did the communications with France commence?

A. Before I was an United Iriſhman, I believe in the middle of 1796, at the ſame time that the military organization was formed.

Q. When was it agreed to accept the offer of aſſiſtance from France?

A. I underſtood it was accepted at a meeting of the Executive in ſummer 1796.—I was apprized of the offer and acceptance by my brother members of the Executive after I became a member of it, and before the arrival of the French in Bantry Bay.

Q. Was it the determination of the United Iriſhmen in the north to riſe if the French had landed?

A. The Directory thought they would riſe.

Q. When was the firſt communication from France after the expedition to Bantry Bay?

A. The firſt which of my own knowledge I can ſpeak of was in Auguſt 1797.—It ſtated, that a fleet lay in the Texel with 15,000 men on board, and that the armament was deſtined for Ireland. I was arreſted, and in confinement for ſome months before that time.

Q. Was it mentioned to the Iriſh Executive where the deſcent was intended?

A. It was not in the diſpatch which I ſaw.

Q. Was there any intelligence brought of the intended invaſion at Bantry?

A. There was, by a meſſenger who arrived here about November 1796.

Q. Was there a reſident agent appointed to go to Paris in ſpring 1797?

A. There was, whilſt I was in priſon; and a ſecond perſon was ſent in June following: I ſaw this perſon on his return to Ireland from France about November 1797. He reported that no armament was then ready, but that one would ſhortly be ready. I underſtood that when a French fleet was ready the expedition would take place.

Q. Have

Q. Have you heard that there were ſome converſations on this ſubject between perſons of this country and general Valence, prior to October 1796?

A. I have heard there were; they did not however lead to any thing deciſive.

Q. Was there any connexion with the Engliſh or Scotch ſocieties?

A. Any connexion with them was merely between individuals: the Iriſh Executive wiſhed to keep clear of them.

Q. Do you know of any loan being negotiated with France or Spain?

A. Inſtructions were given to the agent to negotiate a loan of half a million in France or Spain, on the ſecurity of the new Iriſh government. Says, his ſituation in the Executive was filled up when he left Ireland in January laſt.

Samuel Neilſon ſworn.

Q. When did you become a member of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen?

A. In October 1791 I became a member of the original ſociety.

Q. When did the preſent organization commence?

A. In ſpring 1792 the affiliated ſyſtem of organization commenced, and has gradually increaſed ſince that time.

Q. When was the organization completed in Ulſter?

A. On the 10th of May 1795.

Q. When did the affiliation begin between Ulſter and the reſt of the kingdom?

A. From the time that the ſyſtem commenced, emiſſaries were ſent to every part of the kingdom for the purpoſe of extending it.

Q. What was the object then?

A. I think to alarm government into a compliance with their objects.

Q. When did the military organization begin in Ulſter?

A. In autumn 1796. The object of this organization was to carry their meaſures by force.

Q. Did you know any thing of the correſpondence carried on with France?

A. Previous to my being arreſted, which happened in September 1796, I had heard of communications with France and a probability of the negotiations for aſſiſtance being ſucceſsful.

Q. When were you liberated, and on what condition?

A. He was liberated in January or February laſt, on condition that he ſhould not belong to any treaſonable committee.

Q. After you were liberated, did you hear of any intended attempt on Dublin or Lehaunſtown camp?

A. I

A. I did not till after the arreſts at Bonds.

Q. After that, were you very active in adviſing the filling up the vacancies that you ſuppoſed had taken place in conſequence of thoſe arreſts?

A. I was.

Q. Had you then any information of an intended inſurrection?

A. Soon after I diſcovered that an inſurrection was decided upon, and I meant to have given my advice and aſſiſtance.

Q. Was there a letter from John Sheares found in your pocket when you were laſt arreſted?

A. There was.

Q. What was the object of this letter?

A. To diſſuade me from attacking Kilmainham gaol.

Q. Was there any intention of attacking Newgate?

A. I believe there was an intention of attacking it on the night I was arreſted, the 23d of May.

Q. Did you know of any depots of arms and ammunition?

A. I believe there never were any: the arms were in the hands of the people, and they hid them. The manufacture of pikes began about the time of the military organization. Says the Convention Bill was calculated to meet every part of the ſyſtem of United Iriſhmen. Says Ulſter is not ſo well organized as it was a year ago. Says many people joined the United Iriſhmen, ſuppoſing them to be the ſtrongeſt party in the ſtate; and if their affairs had been well conducted, he thinks they would have become the government. Latterly their affairs have been much miſconducted, becauſe the ableſt men amongſt them have been either arreſted or obliged to fly. Says, that until the laſt two months, he did not conſider government to be well informed; but the late arreſts convinced him they were.

Friday, 11*th Auguſt* 1798.

Thomas Addis Emmett, Eſq. ſworn.

Q. Did you belong to the ſociety of United Iriſhmen?

A. I did.

Q. Were you a member of the Executive?

A. I was.—I was firſt appointed in January 1797, and continued a member of it till May 1797. I then ceaſed to be of it till December laſt, when I was elected a ſecond time, and I continued a member till my arreſt.

Q. When did the military organization take place?

A. I have heard that it commenced the beginning or middle of 1796. Its object was to prepare for reſiſtance. This organization was known to, and had the approbation of the Executive, as returns of men and arms were regularly made to them. The

laſt

laſt military organization proceeded immediately from the Executive.

Q. When did the firſt communication with France take place?

A. The firſt I heard of took place about the middle of 1796. This was in conſequence of an offer of aſſiſtance from France: this offer was in conſequence of repreſentations made by perſons of this country reſident at Paris. It was taken into ſerious conſideration in the ſummer 1796, and accepted by the Executive. The firſt communication with France, of which I can ſpeak from my knowledge, was in April 1797. This was an effort to eſtabliſh a permanent intercourſe with the French Directory; to give them an account of the number of troops here, and of their ſituation, aad of the diſpoſitions of the people, and to ſolicit the aid of a limited number of troops with arms and ammunition. A ſpecial meſſenger was ſent on this occaſion, who was continued the reſident accredited agent of the Iriſh Executive at Paris, and has been ſupported by private ſubſcriptions.

Q. Were any diſpatches received from this agent?

A. In ſome time after his arrival at Paris, he ſent aſſurances to the Executive, of aſſiſtance from the French, and that they would continue it till Ireland was ſeparated from Great Britain.

Q. When did the next communication with France take place?

A. In June 1797, a ſecond meſſenger was diſpatched. He was ſent in conſequence of an application from the French Directory, to arrange every thing for the invaſion. His inſtructions were pretty much the ſame as thoſe of the former; but he was to require a greater quantity of arms. This additional ſupply of arms was demanded principally in conſequence of the ſeizure of arms in the north, which had been made by order of government.

Q. Was any communication made here relative to the armament in the Texel?

A. I am pretty certain that a communication was made in ſummer 1797, and that the armament in the Texel was deſtined for Ireland.

Q. Was any diſpatch received from France in the laſt winter?

A. A diſpatch from the Directory arrived in the laſt winter, to inform the Executive that an armament would arrive here in the month of April. No mention was made of the amount of the force to be ſent, nor of the place of debarkation, as they were aſſured by the Iriſh Executive that wherever they landed they would be ſupported.

Q. How do you account for the people being ſo loyal and well-diſpoſed while the French were in Bantry Bay?

A. About November 1796, a meſſenger arrived here from France, who ſtated that a deſcent would immediately be made

with

with 15,000 men. In a very few days after this meſſenger had quitted Ireland on his return, a letter arrived which was conſidered as authentic by the Iriſh Executive, ſtating that the expedition was deferred till ſpring, when England would be invaded, and probably Ireland. This contradiction then threw the Executive off their guard, in conſequence of which no meaſures were taken to prepare the people for the reception of the French army. The people were left to themſelves.

Q. Was any diſpatch ſent from this to France in the laſt winter?

A. About the beginning of January, or the latter end of December, a diſpatch was made by the Executive, and intended to be tranſmitted to the Directory, but the attempt failed.

Q. When was the ſtaff appointed?

A. It was appointed for Leinſter, by the Executive, in January or February 1798. It was thought neceſſary to have an adjutant-general in each county, to communicate military orders from the Executive.

Q. What was the mode of appointment?

A. The colonels of each county returned the names of three perſons to the Executive, who appointed one of them.

Q. What was the purpoſe of the military organization and preparations?

A. To aſſiſt the French when they ſhould land, and effect a revolution.

Q. When was the military committee appointed?

A. I believe in February 1798. Their duty was to prepare a plan of co-operation with the French when they ſhould land, or of inſurrection, in caſe they ſhould be forced to it before the arrival of the French, which they are determined to avoid, if poſſible. I believe the inſurrection which has taken place, was brought forward by the military ſeverities which were exerciſed in the county of Kildare; and that if the arreſts had not taken place, it would have been kept back by the perſons who were arreſted, till the French ſhould arrive, as it was their determination to wait for aſſiſtance from France. If the French had arrived, I am certain there would have been a very general and formidable inſurrection in every part of the country.

Q. Was John Sheares a member of the Executive before your arreſt?

A. He was not. Says the old Executive never meant to ſpill blood, but rather to retain men of a certain rank as hoſtages, and if they found them hoſtile to the new government, to ſend them out of the country. That it was alſo determined that if the wives of ſuch perſons did not act with hoſtility to the new government, they ſhould be allowed a maintenance out of the huſ-

bands' property, and that each child ſhould have a portion; the reſidue to belong to the nation.

Q. Did the arreſts on the 12th of March tend to diſorganize the ſyſtem?

A. They did. The principal members of the Union were either confined, or fled in conſequence of the arreſts.

Q. Do you think the maſs of the people care for catholic emancipation, or parliamentary reform?

A. I believe the maſs of the people do not care a feather for catholic emancipation; neither did they care for parliamentary reform, till it was explained to them as leading to other objects which they looked to, principally the abolition of tithes. They were alſo taught to conſider that when they became members of a democracy, their condition would be bettered.

Q. Was any eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment intended by the revolutionary government?

A. None, certainly.

Q. How do you ſuppoſe it poſſible for Ireland to remain an independent country, unconnected with Great Britain?

A. Ireland is now in a very different ſituation from that in which ſhe ſtood at the Revolution: I think ſhe has grown out of her connexion with Great Britain.

Q. Explain yourſelf.

A. At the Revolution her population did not much exceed a million and an half; now it amounts to five millions; her wealth has increaſed in a greater proportion.—I am therefore of opinion that ſhe is capable now of ſtanding alone.

Q. Do you not think it a wiſer and a fairer policy to abide by that connexion by which her wealth and population have grown ſo conſiderably?

A. I do not. I think this might be the happieſt country in the world, if ſhe was eſtabliſhed as an independent republic.

Q. How could ſhe exiſt without a ſhip of war, or the means of having one? Twelve Britiſh frigates ſtationed around her coaſts, muſt annihilate the trade of Ireland. How much could England diſtreſs her, even in the ſingle article of coals?

A. I think Ireland would be very much crippled for ſome years; but if ſhe were ſeparated from Great Britain, the coloſſal ſtrength of the Britiſh navy would be very quickly reduced; and as to the ſupply of coals, I think, by extending our inland navigation, we could be ſupplied with fuel at home.

No. XXXII.

Extracts from the Declaration of John Cormick, of Thomas Street, in the City of Dublin, who had fled from thence, and was apprehended at Guernsey, July 10th, 1798.

THAT about fifteen months ago he had taken the oath of an United Iriſhman. About three months ago Lord Edward Fitzgerald was brought to his houſe by William Lawleſs (a ſurgeon, who lived in French Street, Dublin), in order to be concealed there; ſince which time, influenced by his Lordſhip, he had taken a more active part in the rebellion, by attending ſeditious meetings: that during his intercourſe with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, his Lordſhip ſhowed him two letters, taking care to conceal their ſignatures from him; one of which ſtated, that the number of diſaffected in London amounted to ſeventeen thouſand, who would riſe upon a common emergency, but that there were at leaſt one hundred thouſand of the ſame deſcription, who would not ſhow themſelves until the time of actual invaſion. The other was conceived in nearly theſe terms: "I have juſt received a letter from L. who has made application to the truſtees for the advance of 5000*l.* upon your eſtates, which they refuſed, ſaying they would make no payment ſhort of the entire, and that they would not be able to effect that for four months." That the date of the laſt letter was ſome time in May: that Lord Edward Fitzgerald remained concealed in his houſe nearly a month; he afterwards abſconded, ſearch having been made in his houſe for his Lordſhip.

In his declaration he further ſtated, That in the month of March laſt a deputation from the United Britiſh in London arrived in Dublin; he knows that there is an agent for the United Britiſh reſident in Paris, and that there are agents both for the United Britiſh and Iriſh reſident at Hamburgh, but that he is ignorant of all their names, except of that of Lewins, who is the ſame perſon whoſe initial was written in the letter ſhown to him by Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

He acknowledged his being intimately acquainted with this Lewins, who is the Iriſh reſident at Paris, and offered, if his pardon ſhould be granted, to correſpond with ſaid perſon, who, he was certain, would write confidentially to him.

No. XXXIII.

Letter from John Sheares, found upon Samuel Neilson on the Evening of the 23d May.

Sir,

I HAVE ſought you in every direction, but unfortunately in vain. It is now too late to uſe many words upon the ſubject of our intended interview; let it ſuffice to ſay, that I am acquainted with the deſtructive deſign you meditate, and am reſolved to counteract it, whatever it may coſt me. Reſt aſſured that nothing ſhall check a reſolution which honour, private affection, and public duty unite to demand the immediate execution of; and that however unwilling I may be at any other moment to take the only ſteps which your obſtinacy may render neceſſary, this evening, for the preſervation of my friends and my country, I will, without heſitation, take them. The ſcheme you have undertaken I view with horror, whether its effects be conſidered as relating to my impriſoned friends, the deſtruction of whoſe property and lives muſt be the conſequence even of your ſucceſs; or as affecting Arthur O'Connor's exiſtence, the precarious chance for which you thus cruelly leſſen, or (what is ſuperior to every other conſideration) as enſuring the ruin of Ireland's freedom. In ſhort, Mr. , to be candid with you, the ſcheme is ſo totally deſtitute of any apology, even from the plea of folly or paſſion, that I cannot avoid attributing its origin to a worſe cauſe, and nothing can convince me of the contrary, but your immediately foregoing ſo pernicious an enterpriſe. In theſe ſentiments I am not ſingular, nor in the reſolution which ariſes from them; and ſhould you doubt me, you muſt purchaſe conviction at a very ſevere coſt. My reſolution and that of my friends is this, if you do not by nine o'clock this evening give us every neceſſary and ſacred aſſurance, that you will counteract and prevent the perpetration of this plot, againſt all that you ought to hold dear, notice of it ſhall be given to the government, without a moment's delay; for we do prefer that a few miſguided (not to ſay guilty) individuals ſhould periſh, than that every remaining hope of our country's ſucceſs, and the lives of our moſt valued friends, ſhould be ſacrificed by the accompliſhment of a ſtupid, perhaps wicked undertaking. Do not feed yourſelf with hope that any conſideration ſhall deter me from fulfilling his threat.—If every poignard you could command were at my throat, I would do my duty—I did think well of you —I wiſh to do ſo ſtill.—You alone can prevent me.

J. S.

I dine at 52, Abbey Street, where I ſhall expect your anſwer before eight o'clock.

No. XXXIV.

Letter from John M'Manus to Patrick Gallagher:

Dear Citizen, *Kilbeggan, 2d May* 1798.

CONFORMABLE to the informations I received when I laſt had the pleaſure of ſeeing you, immediately on my return to the country I ſent inſtructions to the reſpective baronies to have their numbers properly returned, their collections made, &c. and appointed a day for the county meeting accordingly (which was laſt Saturday), when, to my great mortification, I was totally diſappointed, they not having come according to appointment. I cannot pretend to account in any manner for this timid conduct on the part of the delegates; but ſurely there is nothing in my opinion to juſtify it. I was prepared to go up on Sunday as requeſted, but conſidered it totally uſeleſs, as I was deſtitute of any returns, ſaving thoſe of the barony. I am certain there muſt be a very curious idea formed of this county, from ſuch unpardonable neglect; but I alſo flatter myſelf that were matters fully known to our friends, no blame would be attached to me. From the firſt moment of our receiving the ſyſtem of organization in this barony, we loſt not a moment's time; the people are all well prepared, and in four hours we can bring to the field 3,400 men, determined to ſtand or fall in the cauſe of their country; all they want is a knowledge of the moment. I am certain the good ſenſe of our friends (through the neglect or intimidation of the other baronies) would not ſuffer ſuch a number of brave men to be ſacrificed, and I hope ſtill for the neceſſary informations.

From the variable diſpoſitions of the lower order of people, I do think many of their B^n^. Members excuſable; it takes and requires great patience as well as perſeverance to bring them to a proper ſenſe of their duty, and I know the exertions of ſome in particular has not been wanting. I have again ſent word for our county meeting to aſſemble this week, and inform me when the delegates ſhould be in town with proper returns, &c.

Yours moſt fraternally,

JOHN M'MANUS.

Number of Troops in this Barony:

70 Northumberland fencibles, in this town.
40 Orange yeomen infantry, Tuelſpaſs.
35 Do. do. cavalry, Moat.
With a few more not worth mentioning.

The fact is, we are determined to put them down in a moment, or ten times their number.

My

My brother was in Dublin all laſt week, and tells me he called different times, but had not the fortune to meet you within. I hope there will be no diſappointment now.

No. XXXV.

Mr. Grandy's Information.

County of Wexford, to wit. } RICHARD GRANDY of Ballyſtraco, in the county of Wexford, farmer, came this day before us his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for the ſaid county, and maketh oath upon the Holy Evangeliſts, that he this examinant was attacked and ſeized at the croſs roads of Kilbride in ſaid county, on Sunday the third day of June inſtant, between the hours of nine and ten o'clock in the morning, as he was returning from a farm he had on the lands of Kilbride, by ſeveral perſons armed with guns, pikes, and ſpears; that amongſt the number were Michael Poor, Thomas Poor, Martin White, Richard Shee, Martin Cothoun, Nicholas Browne, Michael White, John Moran, and Laurence Moran, all of Kilbride aforeſaid, with many others, whoſe names this deponent knows not, though their faces were very familiar to him; that examinant was conducted from thence to the rebel camp at Carrick Byrne in ſaid county, and in the afternoon of ſame day was brought to Mr. King's houſe at Scollobogue in ſaid county; that he was introduced into a room where he ſaw Bagenel Harvey of Bargy Caſtle in ſaid county, Eſq.; William Devereux of Taghmon in ſaid county, farmer; Francis Brien of Taghmon; and Nicholas Sweetman of New Bawne in ſaid county, with a few more, whom deponent did not know, but believes that John Colclough of Ballytiegue in ſaid county, and a ſon of ſaid William Devereux's, were of the number; that deponent was cloſely examined by ſaid Bagenel Harvey, as to the ſtate of Roſs and Duncannon fort, and whether he was an Orange man or an United man; that ſaid Bagenel Harvey proffered him to take the oath of an United Iriſhman, and become one of their community; that at laſt deponent obtained a paſs from ſaid Bagenel Harvey, with which he came as far as Bryanſtown, where he was ſtopped by the guard of rebels who were ſtationed there; that he was conducted back again to Collop's Well, where he met with ſaid Bagenel Harvey and ſaid Nicholas Sweetman; that ſaid Sweetman ſigned the paſs he had got from ſaid Harvey; that he had not gone far before the paſs had been taken from him and torn, upon which deponent was taken priſoner to Scollobogue Houſe, where he was confined till the Tueſday morning following, with many other proteſtants; that about nine o'clock John

Murphy

Murphy of Loughnageer in ſaid county, who had the command of the Roſegarland rebel corps, and was the officer of the guard over the priſoners, had ordered them out by fours to be ſhot by his company of rebels, till thirty-five were maſſacred; that the rebel ſpearmen uſed to take pleaſure in piercing the victims through with their ſpears, and in exultation licking their bloody ſpears; that while this horrid ſcene was acting, the barn at ſaid Scollobogue, in which were above one hundred proteſtants (as deponent heard and believes) was ſet on fire and all conſumed to aſhes; that examinant's life was ſpared becauſe ſaid Murphy knew ſaid Bagenel Harvey had given him a paſs; and through his interceſſion with ſaid Murphy, Loftus Freſſel was likewiſe ſpared; ſayeth, they were both tied and conveyed within a mile of Roſs, where they met ſaid Bagenel Harvey, Cornelius Grogan of Johnſtown in ſaid county, Eſq. ſaid William Devereux, and many others, unknown to deponent, retreating from the battle of Roſs; ſaith that ſaid Bagenel Harvey ordered ſaid Murphy to take the priſoners to his lodging at Collop's Well, where he gave a paſs to Loftus Frizzel, but refuſed to give one to deponent, leſt he ſhould go to Duncannon fort, and report what deponent had heard and ſeen; ſaith that he heard and believes it to be a fact, that ſaid Cornelius Grogan had the command of the barony of Fort rebel troops at the battle of Roſs; ſaith that he was taken to Foulke's Mill in ſaid county that night, where he continued for two days under a guard dreſſing the wounded; that he was afterwards conveyed to Ballymitty in ſaid county, when he obtained a paſs from Edward Murphy, pariſh prieſt of ſaid place, to paſs and re-paſs through his diſtrict for the purpoſe of curing the wounded; ſaith that he was ſent to Taghmon, where the ſitting rebel magiſtrates, John Brien, James Harpar, Joſeph Cullamore, and Matthew Commons, were of opinion that deponent might, with the prieſt's paſs, have gone back again and remain there; ſaith that he ſtrolled along the ſea ſide under the protection of this paſs, till at laſt he effected his eſcape acroſs the ferry of Bannow to Feathard, on Friday evening the 22d inſtant, and from thence to Duncannon fort this morning; ſaith that he often heard it reported while he was in cuſtody, that John Colclough and Thomas M'Leard, both of Tintern in ſaid county, were very active in promoting the rebellion; and further ſaith, that he ſaw John Devereux of Shalbeggan in ſaid county, jun. at Scollobogue, on Monday the 4th inſtant, and that he ſeemed, and he verily believeth he had a principal command in the rebel army; ſaith that he likewiſe ſaw Charles Reily of Ramſgrange in ſaid county, at the ſaid camp at Carrick Byrne, amongſt the rebels, very buſy and active to promote their cauſe; deponent further ſaith, that he attended maſs celebrated by Edward Murphy, pariſh prieſt of Bannow; that after maſs he heard ſaid Murphy preach a

ſermon,

ſermon, in which he ſaid, " Brethren, you ſee you are victorious every where, that the balls of the heretics fly about you without hurting you; that few of you have fallen, whilſt thouſands of the heretics are dead, and the few that have fallen, was from deviating from our cauſe, and want of faith; that this viſibly is the work of God, who now is determined that the heretics, who have now reigned upwards of one hundred years, ſhould be now extirpated, and the true catholic religion eſtabliſhed." And deponent ſaith this ſermon was preached after the battle of Roſs, and ſaith he has heard ſeveral ſermons preached by the prieſts to ſame effect; and further ſaith, that he has heard ſeveral of the rebels who had been at the battle of Enniſcorthy, and elſewhere, declare, that Edward Roche the prieſt did conſtantly catch the bullets that came from his Majeſty's army in his hand, and give them to the rebels to load their guns with; deponent further ſaith that any proteſtant who was admitted into the rebel army was firſt baptized by a Roman catholic prieſt, and that every proteſtant who refuſed to be baptized was put to death, and that many to ſave their lives ſuffered themſelves to be baptized.

Sworn before us his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace for ſaid county, this 23d day of June 1798, at Duncannon Fort.

Bound in the ſum of two hundred pounds to proſecute, when called on, this examination with effect.

GEORGE OGLE,
ISAAC CORNOCK,
JOHN HENRY LYSTER,
JOHN KENNEDY.

RICHARD GRANDY.

(A Copy.)

GENERAL ORDERS.

At a Meeting of the General and ſeveral Officers of the United Army of the County of Wexford the following Reſolutions were agreed upon:

RESOLVED, that the commander in chief ſhall ſend guards to certain baronies for the purpoſe of bringing in all men they ſhall find loitering and delaying at home or elſewhere, and if any reſiſtance be given to thoſe guards ſo to be ſent by the commanding officer's orders, it is our deſire and orders, that ſuch perſons ſo giving reſiſtance ſhall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commiſſion for that purpoſe; and all ſuch perſons ſo to be found loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, ſhall be tried by a court martial appointed and choſen from amongſt the commanders of all the different corps, and be puniſhed with death.

Reſolved, that all officers ſhall immediately repair to their reſpective quarters and remain with their different corps, and not

depart therefrom under pain of death, unleſs authorized to quit by written orders from the commander in chief for that purpoſe.

It is alſo ordered that a guard ſhall be kept in the rear of the different armies, with orders to ſhoot all perſons who ſhall fly or deſert from any engagement; and that theſe orders ſhall be taken notice of by all officers commanding ſuch engagements.

All men refuſing to obey their ſuperior officer to be tried by a court martial and puniſhed according to their ſentence.

It is alſo ordered that all men who ſhall attempt to leave their reſpective quarters when they have been halted by the commander in chief, ſhall ſuffer death, unleſs they ſhall have leave from their officers for ſo doing.

It is ordered by the commander in chief, that all perſons who have ſtolen or taken away any horſe or horſes, ſhall immediately bring in all ſuch horſes to the camp at head-quarters; otherwiſe any horſe that ſhall be ſeen or found in the poſſeſſion of any perſon to whom he does not belong, ſhall, on being convicted thereof, ſuffer death.

And any goods that ſhall have been plundered from any houſe, if not brought in to head-quarters, or returned immediately to the houſes or owners, that all perſons plundering as aforeſaid ſhall, on being convicted thereof, ſuffer death.

It is alſo reſolved, that any perſon or perſons who ſhall take upon him or them to kill or murder any perſon or priſoner, burn any houſe, or commit any plunder, without ſpecial written orders from the commander in chief, ſhall ſuffer death.

By order of,

B. B. HARVEY, Commander in Chief.

Head-quarters, Carrick Burn Camp,
June 6, 1798.

FRANCIS BREEN, Secretary and Adjt.

No. XXXVI.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

A PROCLAMATION.

CAMDEN.

WHEREAS a traitorous conſpiracy exiſting within this kingdom for the ſubverſion of the authority of his Majeſty and the Parliament, and for the deſtruction of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution and government, hath conſiderably extended itſelf, and hath broken out into acts of open violence and rebellion:

We have, therefore, by and with the advice of his Majeſty's Privy Council, iſſued the moſt direct and poſitive orders to the officers commanding his Majeſty's forces, to employ them with the

the utmoſt vigour and deciſion for the immediate ſuppreſſion thereof, and alſo to recover the arms which have been traitorouſly forced from his Majeſty's peaceable and loyal ſubjects, and to diſarm the rebels and all perſons diſaffected to his Majeſty's government, by the moſt ſummary and effectual meaſures.

And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all his Majeſty's peaceable and loyal ſubjects, on their allegiance, to aid and aſſiſt, to the utmoſt of their power, his Majeſty's forces in the execution of their duty, to whom we have given it ſtrictly in command to afford full protection to them from all acts of violence which ſhall be attempted againſt their perſons or properties.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin,
the 30th day of March 1798.

Clare. C. Char. Caſhel. W. Tuam. Drogheda. Ormonde and Oſſory. Shannon. Altamont. Clonmell. Ely. Dillon. Pery. Gosford. O'Neill. H. Meath. Caſtlereagh. Glentworth. Callan. Tyrawly. John Foſter. J. Parnell. H. Cavendiſh. J. Blaquiere. H. Langriſhe. Theo. Jones. Joſ. Cooper. D. La Touche. J. M. Maſon. James Fitzgerald. R. Roſs. Iſaac Corry. Lodge Morres.

God ſave the King.

No. XXXVII.

Notice to the Inhabitants of the County of

WHEREAS his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant in council has in conſequence of the daring acts and depredations committed in this county, ordered and directed by his proclamation bearing date the 30th of March laſt, and by his particular orders thereon, that the military ſhould uſe the moſt ſummary means to repreſs diſturbances, and to recover all arms taken from the yeomanry and well-affected, and other concealed arms and ammunition: all the people concerned in taking or concealing theſe arms are required to give them up within ten days from the publication of this notice, which if they do, they may be aſſured no violence whatever will be done to them or to their properties; but if they do not, they are informed that the troops will be quartered in large bodies to live at free quarters among them, and other very ſevere means be uſed to enforce obedience to this notice.

And thoſe who have knowledge where arms are concealed are called upon to give information, which they may do in any private manner to the neareſt civil magiſtrate or commanding officer of his Majeſty's forces or of the yeomanry corps; ſecrecy ſhall be obſerved with reſpect to them, and they ſhall be rewarded when their report is proved to be true.

Should the deluded and evil-diſpoſed among the people in this county ſtill perſevere in robbing and murdering, and committing other acts of violent inſubordination to the laws of their country; they are informed that the commander in chief will be obliged to have recourſe to thoſe powers with which he has been inveſted to bring them to immediate puniſhment.

Given at Head-quarters at Kildare,
the 3d of April 1798.

By order of the Commander in Chief,
FREDERICK MAITLAND, Secretary.

No. XXXVIII.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

A PROCLAMATION.

CAMDEN.

HIS Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, has iſſued orders to ALL the general officers commanding his Majeſty's forces to puniſh all perſons acting, aiding, or in any manner aſſiſting in the rebellion which now exiſts in this kingdom, and has broken out in the moſt daring and violent attacks upon his Majeſty's forces, according to martial law, either by death or otherwiſe, as to them ſhall ſeem expedient for the puniſhment and ſuppreſſion of all rebels in the ſeveral diſtricts; of which all his Majeſty's ſubjects are required to take notice.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin,
the 24th day of May 1789.

W. Armagh. Clare, C. Char. Caſhel. W. Tuam. Waterford. Drogheda. Ormond and Oſſory. Weſtmeath. Shannon. Bellamont. Roden. Altamont. Glandore. Farnham. Ely. Dillon. Pery. O'Neill. Carleton. Caſtlereagh. H. Meath. G. L. Kildare. Muſkerry. Glentworth. Roſſmore. Tyrawly. John Foſter. J. Beresford. J. Parnell. H. Cavendiſh. J. Blaquiere. H. Langriſhe. Theo. Jones. Joſ. Cooper. D. La Touche. J. Monck Maſon. Arthur Wolfe. Rob. Roſs. Iſaac Corry. Lodge Morres.

God ſave the King.

No. XXXIX.

Return of Arms ſeized and ſurrendered in ſeveral Diſtricts.

Commanders.		Guns.	Bayonets.	Piſtols.	Swords.	Blunderbuſſes	Muſket Barrels.	Sword Blades.	Ordnance.	Pikes.
General Dundas	28th March to 14th July	7027	620	1270	873	—	—	—	—	14973
—— Roſs	1ſt May to 10th June	48	—	15	12					
Ditto	15th July	1128	316	410	537	78	101	106	—	17
—— Moore	25th July	300	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	800
—— Taylor	7th June to 18th July	240	6	11	3	—	18	—	—	2
—— Dunne	26th March to 21ſt July	2456	—	628	304	—	—	—	Swivels.	1903
—— Duffe	16th July	4246	303	341	227	55	—	—	9	14283
—— St. John	17th July	500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5000
—— Craig	18th May to 16th July	1930	375	1183	1340	70	—	—	13	2544
—— Nugent	July 31ſt	15200	—	350	700	—	—	—	—	17000
Colonel Skerrit	June 28th to July 28th	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	207
Gen. Champagne	July 28th	3844	44	106	50	—	—	—	—	83
—— Groſe	1ſt Auguſt	23	—	5	9	—	—	—	—	2000
—— Lake	13th March 15th Auguſt	10500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8500
Major Hardy	10th May to 4th June	662	2	144	128	39	—	—	—	3318
		48109	1756	4463	4183	248	119	106	22	70630

Total - 129583

It appears from the letters of the generals that many arms have been ſeized, or ſurrendered, which are not included in the above returns; in many places they have remained in the poſſeſſion of the yeomen.

THE END.

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THE

REPORT

OF THE

SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS OF IRELAND.

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Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, 1769-1822

Report from the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons in Ireland, as reported by the R. H. Lord Vct. Castlereagh August 21, 1798

London 1798

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